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ABSTRACT

This is a report of the observations and activities of a group of Americans who visited China to study the Chinese attempt to integrate education with work. As well as general observations by the 22 group members, accounts are included of visits made to specific schools and workplaces. In addition, the report contains a background paper on education in China, prepared by John Shea, which describes recent developments in China's educational policy, presents a chronology of major events in that country from 1949 to 1976, and provides a glossary of special words, phrases, and revolutionary slogans commonly encountered in China. Appended to the report are: (1) the study group's itinerary; (2) written questions addressed to the Ministry of Education and to the State Bureau of Labor; (3) Chinese government documentation on policies relevant to the topic of the integration of education and work; and (4) a selected bibliography. (GC)

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Observations on the Relations Between Education and Work in the People's Republic of China

Report of a Study Group, 1978 Clark Kerr, Chairman

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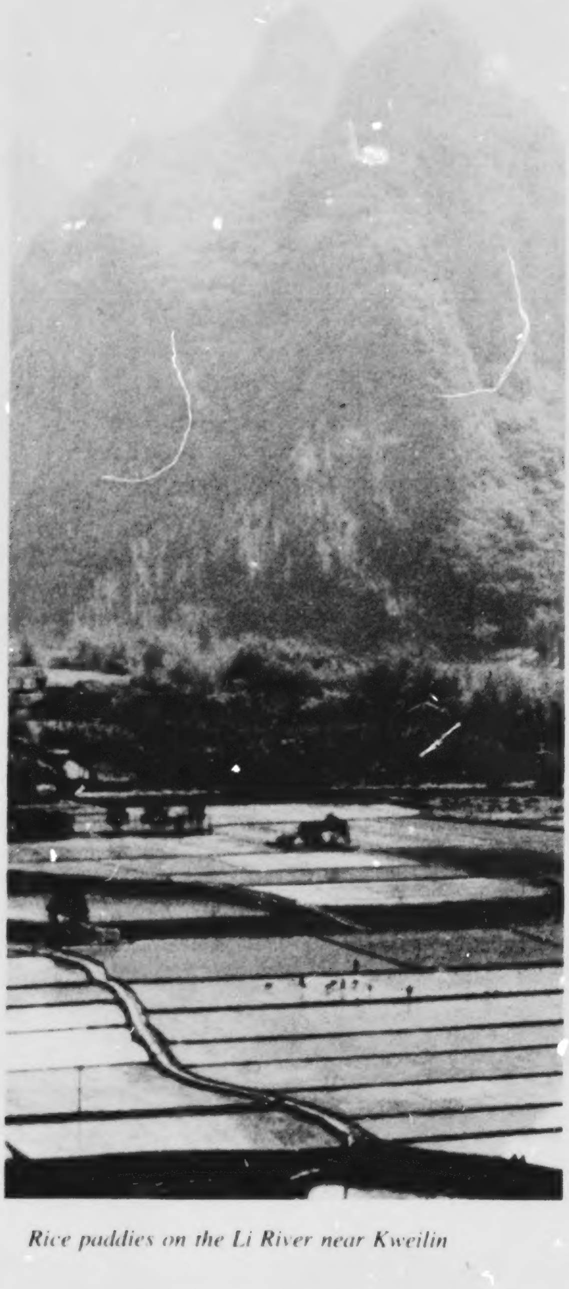

Rice paddies on the Li River near Kweilin

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WORK IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: REPORT OF A STUDY GROUP

April 25 to May 15, 1978

Clark Kerr, *Chairman*
John S. Service, *Vice Chairman*
John R. Shea, *Secretary*

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Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
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Contents

A high-jumping girl in primary school at the San-lin People's Commune enjoys her attempt.

Preface and Study Group Members iii

1. The Great Chinese Cultural Reversal: Education 1
by Clark Kerr

2. General Observations by Members of the Study Group 13
Stephen K. Bailey, Alfred B. Fitt, Harold Howe II, James A. Perkins, Alan Pifer, Jerome M. Rosow, John Shea, Willard Wirtz, Daniel Yankelovich

3. Background Paper: Education in China 33
by John Shea

Recent developments in China's educational policy • Education in China: an overview • Chronology of major events in China, 1949 to October 1976 • Glossary and abbreviations

4. Reports on Specific Visits 49
by John Shea with additional comments by Alfred B. Fitt, Harold Howe II, Clark Kerr, Alan Pifer, Lois D. Rice, Alice Rivlin, Jane Q. Wirtz, Willard Wirtz

Appendix A: Itinerary of the Study Group 108
Appendix B: Written Questions Addressed to the Ministry of Education and to the State Bureau of Labor 111
Appendix C: Policy Documentation 114
Pertinent historical policy statements • Political report to the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, by Hua Kuo-feng, August 12, 1977 (Excerpts) • Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Party to the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China by Yeh Chien-ying, August 13, 1977 (Excerpts) • Science, Education and Culture: Report on the Work of the Government to the Fifth National People's Congress, by Hua Kuo-feng, February 26, 1978 (Excerpts) • Science: Speech at the National Educational Work Conference, by Teng Hsiao-ping, April 22, 1978 (Excerpts)
Appendix D: Selected Bibliography 120
Prepared by John Shea

Preface

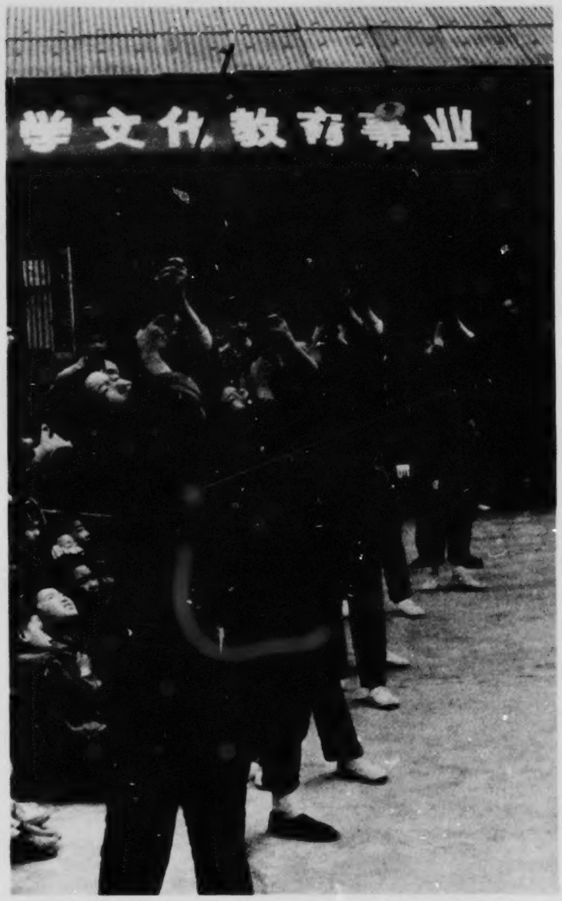
Our group visited China from April 25 to May 15, 1978, and our special interest was in "Relations Between Education and Work." We chose this topic because of the current concern over the separation of education from work and of work from education in the United States and because China has had special experience in attempting to integrate them.

The timing of our visit turned out to be most advantageous. Three recent policy statements on science, education and culture (February 26, 1978), on science (March 24, 1978) and on education and work (April 22, 1978) had just been issued and were being discussed throughout China. Local authorities were adapting their operations to reflect the new "lines," and it was a time of ferment and change in the areas of our special concern.

We were also most fortunate to have excellent guides, who met us in Canton and accompanied us throughout our stay:

- Ms. Tzu Chung-yun, leading member
- Mr. Su Kuang
- Mr. Kuo Tse-pei
- Ms. Chang Yun
- Ms. Hsueh Huan-hui

All five were provided by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. They made arrangements and translated for us with great competence, good will, and courtesy. We are greatly indebted to them and to Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, Mr. Hu Hung-fan, and Ms. Lu Tsui, of the Peking office of the association, who were in charge of our visit and were our hosts in Peking. We were also well cared for by the local representatives of the association in each city we visited. We had helpful discussions with all of these people, but the observations set forth on the following pages are our own, not theirs. Each of them would disagree with many of our observations, and with some of them quite vigorously.



Boys shoot at balloons at the Children's Palace in the Yangpu district of Shanghai.

Our group was highly compatible, hard working, and always on time. There were no difficulties whatsoever, aside from some individual illnesses of a temporary nature that responded quickly to herbal medicine of unknown content but, occasionally, great potency.

This report includes some general observations about the subject matter of our trip and related issues (Sections 1 and 2). In our full report, a background paper prepared in advance of the trip by John Shea constitutes

Section 3, and the details of our several specific visits are set forth in Section 4.

Our full report also includes Appendix A, the itinerary for our trip; Appendix B, the written questions we addressed to the Ministry of Education and to the State Bureau of Labor; Appendix C, Policy Documentation; and Appendix D, a bibliography.

Photographs were taken by several members of our group and a few are included in our report. We are particularly indebted to Harold Howe, but also to John Shea, Alan Pifer and Alice Rivlin for making their pictures available.

Six members of our group, Alfred Fitt, Harold Howe, Alan Pifer, Alice Rivlin, and Willard and Jane Wirtz together, prepared diaries of the visit and these have been most useful in the preparation of this report. We all had many observations about China outside our areas of special interest and some of them appear in these diaries and in a recorded retrospective commentary by Alan Pifer and Dan Yankelovich.

Study Group Members

Clark Kerr, Chairman of the Study Group, and Chairman, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education

Catherine Kerr, community leader

John S. Service, Vice Chairman of the Study Group

Caroline Service

Stephen K. Bailey, Professor of Education and Social Policy, Harvard University, and President, National Academy of Education

Alfred Fitt, General Counsel, Congressional Budget Office of the United States

Harold Howe II, Vice President, Division of Education and Research, The Ford Foundation

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., President, National Urban League, Inc.

James A. Perkins, Chairman of the Board, International Council for Educational Development, and Member, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education

Ruth Perkins

Alan Pifer, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York and of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and Member, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education

Lois D. Rice, Vice President, College Entrance Examination Board, and Member, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education

Alice M. Rivlin, Director, Congressional Budget Office of the United States

Jerome M. Rosow, President, Work in America Institute, Inc.

Rosalyn Rosow, artist

John R. Shea, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education

Nadine C. Shea

Willard Wirtz, Chairman, National Manpower Institute

Jane Q. Wirtz, Member of the Board of Directors, Goodwill Industries of America

Daniel Yankelovich, President, Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., and Member of the Executive Committee, Work in America Institute, Inc.

Hasmieg Yankelovich

Mitchell Sviridoff, Vice-President, Division of National Affairs, The Ford Foundation, was an original member of the group but, at the last moment, could not participate because of a serious illness in his family—to our great regret.

Several caveats are in order:

- John Service is the only China expert among us.
- We spent only three weeks in China, almost entirely in urban areas.
- We saw what we were scheduled to see. However, we saw all we asked to see with one exception. Our request to see a "May 7 cadre school"—where administrators are sent for a work experience and also for political indoctrination—was not refused, but it was implied that these schools are no longer as important as they once were. We were advised that we would see nothing of interest and that we would have to choose between this visit and another one (Tsinghua University) which we much preferred.
- We heard only the answers we were given. However, with a few exceptions, specific answers appeared to be quite factual. Several times in our discussions we encountered lively exchanges among our hosts about the correct answer to a question. Also, we had many opportunities in cars, at dinners, and walking around communes, schools, and factories to talk with Chinese people individually. These talks are not recorded in our report but were very important sources of information. We also saw much for ourselves and it generally accorded with what we were told. We found the people we met to be friendly and willing to share factual information quite openly. This contrasts with the experience of some visitors in the period 1973 to 1976 whose conversations seem to have been more restrained and more ideological in content.
- We have read the work of other foreign observers of China both within and outside our areas of special interest in books, articles and diaries. These writers sometimes indicate they were restricted to one degree or another in their efforts to obtain information. However, our general conclusion is that foreigners are very well served by the excellent body of literature in English about modern China. (For a selected bibliography in our areas of interest, see Appendix D to our full report.)
- China is a very large and complex nation; much has happened there over the past three decades; and much of this is not open knowledge to either foreigners or most Chinese.
- All members of the Study Group come from an historical and philosophical tradition that contrasts fundamentally with that of the Chinese people. Our perceptions of what we saw can be and often are not only different from but contrary to those of many Chinese.

We did have some advantages:

- An excellent briefing arranged by John Dolphin at the Universities Service Center in Hong Kong, particularly by Suzanne Pepper and Jonathan Unger. Robert Gilmore of the U.S.-China Relations Committee thoughtfully provided us with helpful materials before the trip.
- We had excellent hosts everywhere we went in China. Our ignorance was indulged respectfully and our interminable questions were answered with great patience. We met no hostility—only constant courtesy and kindness.
- Our group was fortunate to have as members John (Jack) Service, who was a very conscientious vice chairman, and his wife, Caroline. Jack was born in China; lived there for 28 years; and speaks and reads Chinese as his first language. His presence opened opportunities to us beyond the ordinary. He was a constant source of information on request, but never sought to correct our abysmal lack of knowledge unless asked. He never tried to impose his own opinions based on years of experience and encyclopedic acquaintance with the literature on our fumbling efforts to grope for impressions too early and too firmly. No other American group could ever have been more fortunate than we were in the "expert" who accompanied it.

Jack and I recall with pleasure the luncheon given for us in Washington by Ambassador Huang Chen, now Minister of Culture, when we first proposed the visit, and appreciate his support for it.

CLARK KERR

Our study group poses with the Minister of Education, Liu Hsi-yao (sixth from the right, front row) in Peking. Front row, left to right: Ms. Lu Tsui, host from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC); Daniel Yankelovich; James Perkins; Ruth Perkins; Catherine Kerr; Clark Kerr; the Minister of Education; John Service; Caroline Service; Alan Pifer; Alice Rivlin; Hu Shou-hsin, leading member of the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education. Second row, left to right: Ms. Tsu Chung-yung, leading member of the team from CPAFFC that accompanied the group; Nadine Shea; Hasmieg Yankelovich; Jerome Rosow; Lois Rice; Rosalyn Rosow; Mr. Li, host from CPAFFC. Top row: John Shea; Vernon Jordon, Jr.; Harold Howe II; Alfred Fitt; Willard Wirtz; Jane Wirtz. Stephen Bailey was not present on this occasion.

1

1. The Great Chinese Cultural Reversal: Education

by Clark Kerr

The observations I set forth below have a heavy political content—of necessity. It is not possible to explain policies and practices, and particularly the changes in them that we saw taking place, without reference to the political context. First of all, in China, "politics is in command." Second, we were in China at a time when the political line toward education and work and culture and science was being fundamentally changed.

We entered China on April 25. The new line on education and work had been announced on April 22 at the beginning of an "educational-work conference." The new line on science had been enunciated on March 24. Everywhere we went, the new lines were being disseminated, discussed, interpreted and applied. These new policies, in turn, reflected the more general political approaches set forth at the Fifth People's Congress in February 1978 and the prior Eleventh Party Congress in August 1977. It was at these congresses that modernization was made the central theme of the national development, that meritocracy was resurrected, and that the contradictions and tensions between the new line and the line of the Gang of Four were set forth in stark contrast.

The Gang of Four was removed from a position of power in October 1976. Mao had died in September. Policies supported by that group were intermittently and incompletely but still fundamentally in effect from 1966 to 1976 in the areas of our direct concern. The control of the gang and its supporters extended to all of the media of communication; they also had influence within some segments of the military and in local, regional, and national governmental and Communist Party administration. They, apparently, had little direct impact on the 80 percent of Chinese life that is rural (except for some arguments over the size of private plots and other specific policies). Within the areas of our special concern, however, the Gang of Four and the ideas they supported had been very influential and sometimes dominant for a decade.

The presentations made to us dealt heavily with the current transformations, and a central thrust of our questioning came to be how the policies of the four were being changed. The biggest single current turnabout in policies in China is in the areas of our special interest. The most intense continuing debate within China is over educational policy, particularly over rules governing entrance into universities. An almost all-pervasive revocation of the policies of the four, a return "to great order across the land," a process of stabilizing the society and getting rid of the excesses, has been underway since the fall of 1976. Policies have been changed, even totally reversed, and actual practice is in the process of change—sometimes slowly, sometimes rapidly; sometimes accepted with enthusiasm, sometimes with caution; sometimes with reluctance. The educational-work conference that had started on April 22 ended on May 16. A press release of May 17 noted that "some comrades" were "apprehensive" about the new plans. Some of them were said still to be under "the pernicious influence" of the Gang of Four, while others "still harbor a fear of the big stick" of the Gang of Four. It was also noted that the "influence" of

Note: I take responsibility for these observations but they draw on discussions within our group and personal conversations with individual members of the group. The use of the word "we" in these observations thus implies a certain group origin of views but does not imply unanimity of opinion. There were quite diverse views within our group. Some of the diversity is indicated in the additional observations found in Section 2.

the gang is still ``deep and wide on the education front.''

The Chinese revolution is one of the greatest historical events of the 20th century. The social experiments in China are among the most interesting in the world, both because of their inherent character and because of the size and importance of China among the nations of the world. What has been tried and rejected, and what has been tried and accepted are of considerable interest.

What we saw was a very small fraction of what was going on in China and what we saw was certainly distorted to some, but to us an unknown, degree. But we were there at a very special moment in history, when one axis of historical development was being sharply bent and twisted into a new axis pointing in a different direction. What we think we heard and observed and reflected upon provides one, among what no doubt will be many, glimpses of that moment when a social earthquake was sweeping through China disclosing fissures and faults that under more normal circumstances are more hidden from view.

Modernization

The ``Four Modernizations'' in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology are efforts to match the levels of modernization of the more advanced nations technologically ``by the end of the century.''[1] These modernizations are the great new theme for national effort and they place clear and direct demands on policies and practices in education and science. Modernization of science (and education related to it) is central to the success of the other three.

Meritocracy

One great necessity for modernization is the creation of skilled personnel: scientists, technicians, teachers, and the like. China has a very thin formally educated group of highly trained personnel. It lost nearly ten full years of advanced training from 1966 to 1976. Today, within higher education, China has only one student to every 100 in the United States, after adjusting for size of the respective populations. If modernization is to be successful, China must create as rapidly as possible vast numbers of skilled personnel, and it is making great new efforts to find and develop talent throughout Chinese society.

Vice Premier Teng (Appendix C-6) cites as a current task giving ``priority to those who are outstanding'' and notes with approval: ``Chairman Mao once said that ten thousand years from now there will still be a gap between the advanced and the backward. Therefore, while encouraging and helping everyone to work hard, we have to admit the disparity in abilities and moral qualities of different people, which will surface in the course of their development.''

It is not possible to be both for modernization and against meritocracy, but it is possible to avoid development of a ``new class'' with special privileges for its members and their children. The real issue is not whether a meritocracy is being developed—it is, but whether or not this meritocracy will evolve into a privileged ``new class.''[2]

Contradictions

Mao was fascinated by contradictions: ``Contradictions and struggle are universal and absolute.''[3] The theme of contradictions also runs through Marx and is not unknown in Buddhism; and any realistic understanding of modern society, particularly one developing quickly, requires a recognition of contradictions. Mao was, among many other things, a clear-headed realist. He not only understood contradictions, he made use of them and even approved of them: ``opposites should co-exist.'' Thus it has been possible for both the four and the Moderates who are currently in power to turn to Mao for support for what they have wanted to do; and Mao, apparently, was adept at playing one group against another in the continuing struggles for power that have marked the period since 1949 (and within the Communist Party before then also). In the end, however, Mao selected a Moderate to succeed him (Chairman Hua) and said, “With you in charge, I am at peace.”

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[1] The goal is that ``the output of major industrial products approach, equal or outstrip that of the most developed capitalist countries'' (Chairman Hua, Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (First Session). Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978, pp. 35-36).

[2] I met a friend at an airport who had relatives with two ``sent-down'' youths now back at home studying for the university examinations with the help of a tutor and of the two parents, both of them university graduates. We saw the compound next to the Forbidden City, surrounded by high walls, with villas inside it for high-level officials. We were in an airplane with a first-class section closed off by curtains beyond which we saw glimpses of People's Liberation Army officers.

[3] Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1976, p. 54.

Contradictions, nevertheless, continue between:

- “Red” versus “expert,” with the current emphasis on the expert and thus on meritocracy
- Modernization versus egalitarianism, with the current emphasis upon modernization but not without an ongoing “tug of war”
- Rural versus urban, with the current emphasis on urban and industrial development
- Discipline versus constant mass participation (even mob rule), with the current emphasis upon discipline
- Trained intellect versus political spirit, with the current emphasis on the training of intellect
- The blooming of a “hundred flowers” versus the single correct “line,” with the current emphasis on a carefully and cautiously chosen “hundred flowers”
- Bureaucrats versus “the people,” with the bureaucrats again in an enhanced position
- Academic versus revolutionary (social justice in admissions, creation of the “new man,” politics triumphant) models of education, with the present emphasis almost totally on the academic model
- Hard work versus revolutionary politics, with “hard work” and “promote production” the current themes

These contradictions are variously found elsewhere in developing societies (some of them in all societies) and part of the drama of the Chinese experiment is to see how first one and then the other end of each axis of contradiction is momentarily emphasized and how the two opposites are temporarily more or less reconciled or at least adjusted to each other. In the words of Heraclitus: “Strife is the source and the master of all things.” China is today a great stage where fundamental contradictions have been and are asserting their incompatibilities in forceful ways. Yet choices must be made and are being made. How long the current choices will endure, no one can really know. Again quoting Heraclitus: “Nothing endures but change.” The observations we set forth here relate to how China is changing today, as we saw it, in certain selected and limited areas.

Tensions

We met no open supporters of the Gang of Four. The four themselves are reported to be under house arrest. The former rector of Tsinghua University, who supported the gang, is in jail; so, no doubt, are many others. We did meet a few people who seemed ideologically more oriented toward Maoist sayings that reflect the 1966-1976 period than the actual policies of today. The nature of our sponsorship meant that we were under the guidance of opponents of the four. The nature of our inquiry also meant that we met people who, by their positions and their social identifications, were sympathetic to the new policies: intellectuals who had been listed by the four as the lowest of the “stinking nine categories,”[4] artists and craftsmen who liked to see a “hundred flowers bloom” again, scientists and scholars who are once more being honored (the four said that “the bourgeoisie creates knowledge, and knowledge creates the bourgeoisie”[5]—and they hated the bourgeoisie), teachers who again have authority in the classroom, and factory and shop supervisors who once again supervise.

We heard the strong denunciations of the four and of their supporters, both publicly and privately, by people who really seemed to mean it. The four were called “looters” and “fascists” supported by “hooligans.” We met an artist who had been subject to “criticism” although protected from any severe punishment by local authorities. We saw on stage and on screen individuals and groups who had been banned, and we witnessed the warm reception for them. We were told of a sister whose career as a classical dancer had been ruined. We were told there had been dancing in the streets when the gang was overthrown, that no liquor was left unsold at that time in all of China. We were told of conflicts and disturbances in factories between those who wanted to work and those who wanted to engage only in political activity.

[4] The policy now, by contrast, is “giving full scope to the abilities of intellectuals” (Chairman Hua before the Fifth People's Congress, 1978, p. 77). Intellectuals were classified as the ninth and last category of class enemies, coming after landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, renegades, enemy agents, and unrepentant capitalist-roaders.

[5] This statement is certainly factually true in much of world history. It may also, as it did for the four, carry ideological implications.

But the gang had its supporters (and it certainly must still have supporters—otherwise why the constant attacks upon it?):[6] those who believed in its principles ideologically—the young and the radical; those who followed it for opportunistic political reasons in government agencies and in the armed forces; those who had a self-interest in the operation of its policies—the young people who were preferred on the basis of their class background and who would not have made it on merit; the undisciplined workers who did not have to work; and those who benefited from the personal preferments given by Chiang Ching or other members of the gang. And the policies of the gang still stand as alternatives to those of the Moderates for anyone unhappy for any reason with the Moderates—for example, not getting admitted to a university.

We heard that in the universities the new students chosen on merit have disdain for and are arrogant toward the elder students chosen on the basis of their political views and their class backgrounds; that the old students who are still true to the Cultural Revolution have contempt for the young "egoists"; and that the pre-1966 faculty members feel academically superior to the post-1966 faculty—as many undoubtedly are. We saw in factories a level of productive activity that must still reflect the anarchy of the recent decade,[7] and the fear or reluctance of managers and of the government and even of the Communist Party to step in too quickly to get production moving again. Some factories are only now reopening (the reopening of a steel plant in Wuhan was announced while we were in China). We were told that in 1976, if the gang had not been overthrown,[8] social unrest would have occurred on a major scale, in fact was already occurring among a people noted for social discipline; that China was near to collapse economically and politically; that the People's Liberation Army (PLA) would soon have had to step in as it had at the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Tensions are endemic in any society undergoing rapid change and perhaps particularly in one that has repudiated so much of its history. Everything before 1949 was repudiated by the successful revolutionaries; everything in the Liu period of 1952 to 1966 was repudiated by the supporters of the Cultural Revolution except the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) which was in fact an economic disaster in the short term but with some very substantial long-term gains in encouraging local initiative outside the "plan" in the communes and the towns alike; and everything under the Gang of Four from 1966 to 1976 has been repudiated by the now-triumphant Moderates. That leaves very little to feel secure about in Chinese history, although there are current efforts to rehabilitate the image of the first 17 years. There must be fears now that there will be new repudiations in the future, and this may help to explain why some of the new policies seem to be followed locally with a sense of caution.

We felt, however, that the current line does have mass support; that it appeals to widespread desires for the fruits of modernization; and that it finds strong justification in the fear of Russia and the determination of the Chinese people never to be subject again to foreign invasion or domination. It has behind it, then, both an internal and an external logic. The policies of the four, also, seemed to us to have been divisive and counterproductive in a number of areas affecting education, such as the heavy emphasis upon class heritage in judging people and the rejection of discipline and scholarship. How much these and other policies were based upon ideological principles and how much they were just tactics in the struggle for power we have no way of knowing. We were told, however, that only through creating anarchy, only by weakening the established instrumentalities of governance, did the gang have any chance of seizing power upon the death of Mao. But no one can surely know that the gang or its successor, in some form or another, has been defeated forever. This is the greatest internal issue for China: whether or not there may not once again be an episode of repudiation of the recent past.

The Great Mystery

The great mystery for us was what role Mao really did play in the decade 1966-1976. In the end, he did condemn the gang (in 1974 he is reported to have said that the four should not "gang up" against the rest of the Central Committee and to have told them, "Don't function as a gang of four"—thus the origin of their designation); and he did choose Hua; and he relied on Chou En-lai to hold the country together. But he also hated bureaucracy, distrusted intellectuals ("misfits" who can "do nothing well"), and loved revolutionary change. He did start the Cultural Revolution and he made many statements that the gang could use as basis for support (but the Moderates use them as well, as in "Red" *and* "expert"—which was really meant?). Each side has accused the other of "sabotaging" and "distorting" Mao. In any event, however, his legacy is now the basis for the historical legitimacy of the current leadership—he did want a strong and modern China and he did come to hate Russia, although as late as 1957 he had said: "We must learn conscientiously from the advanced experience of the Soviet Union." Was he just old and sick and misled by Chiang Ching?; was he actually in charge?; or was he some of both? What did Mao really stand for? What is Maoism?

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[6] The first of the eight "musts" of the Eleventh Party Congress was to "carry the great struggle against the anti-party 'Gang of Four' through to the finish" (*Eleventh National Congress of Communist Party of China 'documents'*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1977, p. 19[illegible]).

[7] It was reported to the Fifth People's Congress that "the whole economy was on the brink of collapse" and that "production came to a standstill in factories" (1978, p. 14).

[8] And just before October 1976, "everything hung by a thread" (Chairman Hua to the Fifth People's Congress, 1978, p. 13).

We judge that some of the current cynicism about China today among some young foreign scholars of modern China and some young American radicals we have met is because they liked the side of Mao represented by the gang and do not like the side represented by the Moderates.[*] The real Mao, of course, may not have been on either side but rather in favor of playing great social forces and principles against each other to encourage a process of constant change, movement, and struggle.

Lurking behind many of our questions and half seen behind many of the answers we got was an uncertainty about what Mao did or did not do, did or did not mean. When we asked what the Gang of Four had done from 1966 to 1976, we got strong condemnation—it was a "mess," a "disaster." When we asked what Mao had done beginning with 1966 and his sponsorship of the Cultural Revolution, we got either strong support or a guarded and somewhat equivocal defense. In any event, the blaming it on the Gang of Four version of history does give the current leadership a chance to start anew,[10] to blame past failures on the gang, to justify current policies to rectify the errors of the recent past, and above all to save the reputation of Mao as the central deity in their pantheon.[11] We reached no firm judgment on the true role of Mao during this period, on his real policies toward education, culture, and science. We left China as we entered it—puzzled about Mao and Maoism.

New Policies—Education

China is a nation almost frantically engaged in the great task of education—in the schools, in the factories, in the communes, over radio and television;[12] and the emphasis is on "back to the basics"—once again "one must study" (Mao, 1957). The several new policies we set forth below can be contrasted with the policies of the Cultural Revolution as listed in the supplement to Section 1:

- Literacy is now at the 70 percent level and rising. The policy is to provide as soon as possible eight years of education in rural areas and ten in urban areas.

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[*] Two generations ago some scholars and radicals idealized the Soviet Union only to discover later that worldly Utopias look better at a rhetorical level at a great distance than at an operational level close up.

[10] Stuart R. Schram wrote in June of 1966 just as the Cultural Revolution was beginning: "It seems inevitable that ultimately Mao's heaven-storming policies will be replaced by others better adapted to the dull but efficient rationality of modern industrial society . . . . It is hard to see how the Mao cult in its present extravagant form can long survive his disappearance. Indeed, his successors will be virtually obliged to denounce it in order to divest themselves of the responsibility both for the terror and bloodshed engendered by the 'cultural revolution' and for the economic disasters to which these developments may be expected to lead" (*Mao Tse-tung*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966, p. 325). Three years earlier, Schram had already called Mao's attitude "anachronistic" (*The Political Thought of Mao Tse-Tung*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, p. 83).

[11] The Moderates confront difficult choices in handling the heritage of Mao. (1) They could repudiate some of his statements and actions from 1966 to 1976. (2) They could embrace everything he did and said. (3) They could choose to emphasize some statements and actions, and reinterpret or ignore others. (4) They could excuse some of his actions selectively. The first choice is not politically wise because of Mao's great stature and his choice of Hua as successor—their portraits are everywhere side by side. The second choice is not possible because Mao did have clear connections personally and ideologically with the Gang of Four, and the gang is totally repudiated. The current approach seems to be the third, with private resort to the fourth when pressed. The Moderates have no such problem with Chou En-lai. His heritage is clear-cut and we discerned nothing but unreserved admiration and even a sense of reverence for him.

[12] The intent is to "expand education at all levels and of all types" (Chairman Hua before the Eleventh Party Congress, 1977, p. 93).

Postsecondary education is being expanded rapidly. Facilities, however, seem to be rather meager by U.S. standards. The student-to-teacher ratios are very high (except in the universities where they are almost unbelievably low), and the instructional methodology is still based on memorization and recitation.

- The new emphasis is on "hard" subjects, particularly mathematics but also science in general. English is widely taught, as fast as teachers can be trained, as a means of access to Western technology. Arabic numerals are in universal use and the first steps are being made toward transition to the Latin alphabet. But there is still substantial although reduced emphasis upon political ideology, including the benefits of the revolution, the doctrines of Mao, and the current "mass line."
- "Key" schools and universities across the country are receiving special support to provide models of academic excellence.
- Discipline seems to have been fully restored in the classroom; the teachers teach and the students study. This may be less true at the university level.
- Theory is once again elevated over practice in many subjects.
- Talent is sought for. Class heritage is largely ignored in practice and almost totally in policy on the ground that all young people are children of the revolution. Once again, after a 10-year hiatus, the best students go to "key" schools and universities; the most talented in many areas attend special programs in children's palaces. Examinations, increasingly national in scope, are being heavily emphasized. For entry into universities, only one student in thirty applicants was admitted last fall, largely on the basis of examination scores. The pressure on the examination system is enormous. The justification is that: "The principle of matriculating the best examinees is aimed at turning out competent personnel in the shortest possible time. It promotes the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology and helps areas in which the level of education is relatively backward to catch up." Children of intellectuals "greater in proportion to the total population than in previous years" are admitted, but "intellectuals serving socialism are part of the working people" (*Peking Review*, July 28, 1978).
- The length of educational programs is being increased. At the university level, for example, from three to four years; and a four and one-half year program has been suggested.
- Graduate work is being reinstituted.
- Research is being reintroduced both in the universities and in the institutes of the Chinese Academy of Science. A new Academy of Social Sciences has just been created.
- Scholars are being sent abroad to scientific meetings; lecturers are being brought in from foreign countries; and Western scientific books and journals are being acquired and made available for study as fast as possible.

New Policies—Education and Work

Formerly there was a policy of "half-study, half-work" which apparently in some places meant, we were told, "half-politics, half-work." The current policy is:

- To teach attitudes favorable to the dignity of all useful work and to working hard.
- To have students visit factories and communes to see people at work, including their parents; and to have shops and gardens inside the schools wherever possible.
- To have students work 15 percent of the time in the school or in an outside factory or agricultural commune. "Work" now includes mental as well as manual labor. (This is an enormous and fundamental change, for one original purpose of the work policy was to elevate the status of manual labor and to denigrate mental labor.) Some of this work is during the vacation period. The 15 percent allotment is exceeded in technical and agricultural schools where the work component is one-half or one-third.
- To have many students (perhaps 70 to 80 percent) engaged in employment between secondary and higher education; about 20 to 30 percent of those admitted now go directly to college from middle school (the rough equivalent of the U.S. high school).
- To operate substantial educational programs in factories and communes to enable workers to improve their general knowledge and upgrade their technical skills.

We were not impressed with the work projects we saw in schools (except for technical and agricultural schools). They seemed to be more "for show" than of basic importance. Supervisors and employed workers seemed to be doing most of the work. Actual physical work within the school did not seem to be a really important component of education, but more of an artifact from an earlier period, with little or no life left in it. We got the impression that neither students nor teachers took it very seriously. Either much has changed or we were misled by earlier glowing reports of the amalgamation of meaningful work into the curriculum. Nonetheless, we were impressed with the efforts to orient students toward work and to give them some working experience outside the school. Most American students get a wider variety of work experience than in China but more frequently in the service trades and in offices, which are in any event familiar to them, and less in factories and on farms. We have no comparable efforts to teach about work and to mold attitudes toward work in the United States, however: how hard it is but how necessary it is.

New Policies—Education On and Off the Job

Skills can be taught not only in the full-time school but also on and off the job. We saw an all-out effort at training on and off the job in:

Apprenticeship programs
Part-time and full-time schools in the factories
Evening schools
Three-day schools, where students can attend school three days and then work three days while another group goes to school three days
Radio and television programs
Correspondence courses.

These "non-traditional" approaches to education, as they are called in the United States, cost less than the more traditional ones; they find talent that was not found earlier in the schools; they create a greater sense of equality of opportunity; they provide a safety valve for disappointed expectations for persons who missed out on university careers; and they get faster results in actual production. They do tend to impart less basic knowledge and to be more narrowly specialized in content. But China needs many more skilled workers, technicians and middle managers; and non-traditional programs are a good way to get them.

We were not very impressed with the one "July 21 university" that we visited in a factory, even though it was the most historic and famous of them all. Perhaps one reason for our reaction was that we were not impressed with the factory itself. This university had, however, trained one-half of the technicians and engineers in the plant, and personnel for other plants as well.

Currently, great emphasis is placed on advancing non-traditional programs. In Shanghai, at least, one-quarter of all enrollments, on a full-time-equivalent basis, are already in such programs. Technical and agricultural middle schools are also expanding.

New Policies—Cultural Activities

Under the Gang of Four, science, scholarship, and artistic activity were controlled at best and decimated at worst. Everything foreign was suspect, as was anything classical within Chinese culture, and anything current that did not have a revolutionary theme. The current emphasis, as we saw it, is "back to 1966" (but as yet no farther), and this has meant an immense opening of opportunity for expansion of intellectual and cultural activity. Literature and art are no longer so much what Mao once called them: "cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary mechanism." There is less "unity of politics and arts" (1976, pp. 299, 302). The classical and the foreign are again accepted; the standard phrase is: "making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China." The "fascist cultural autocracy" has been "overthrown."

New Policies—Science

Science is now a great key to modernization. Scientists must be trained as fast as possible, research activity restored as fast as possible, and foreign developments absorbed as fast as possible.

Accomplishments

We, along with most other observers, were impressed with:

- The achievement of building national pride and unity, which is of elemental importance against the background of the historic "Middle Kingdom" that suffered such indignities at foreign hands for the prior century. Any regime that could recreate China as an independent and respected nation was bound to draw on a great reservoir of patriotism.
- The spread of literacy.
- The universal availability and relatively equitable distribution of food, and of minimal housing and clothing.
- The access to medical services on a mass basis through clinics in factories, communes, and neighborhoods, and the heavy emphasis on personal health care education.
- The excellent care of children, including in child-care centers that seem to be almost universally available.
- The effort to give security to old persons and to provide them with useful tasks in a "caring society."
- The achievement of a much higher status for women than was traditional in Chinese society.
- The decentralization of welfare activities into local communities and into individual families.
- The control of population increase.
- The absence of "shack towns" around the cities (requiring, of course, strict control over the movements of people).
- The excellent care taken of the land and the productivity of the countryside. This is not unrelated, presumably, to the heavy emphasis on productive contributions in the economic reward structure—"to each according to his production." Eighty percent of the Chinese population is rural, and the rural agricultural system was little affected by the Gang of Four.
- The general sense of high expectations for the future and pride in past accomplishments.

Problems

We noted these problems, as have many others:

- The small number of trained persons and the enormous task of developing them. In order for 10 percent of the age cohort to be in higher education—a minimum level for a modernized industrial nation, will require at least a multiplication of the present system by 15 times over.
- The inefficiency of the factories (and other observers have recorded similar impressions); but not of the craft workshops.
- The gravity of damage done during the "lost decade" to university teaching activities and to all research activities. It is not only that students were not trained and that research was not done, but also there are the continuing effects of destroyed morale,[11] of incompetents who were given tenure, of hatreds engendered, of fear of the consequences of constantly changing policies that were exacerbated. The "lost generation," less skilled than it should be, resistant to discipline, sometimes disillusioned and embittered, will be around for another quarter or third of a century. More than just a decade was lost.
- The difficult situation for youth. Many have been "sent down" to the countryside and have little chance of getting back. All know they must serve somewhere in accordance with the plans of the state, but where they will serve is uncertain. They are given little free choice, although their wishes and the needs of their parents are taken into account when making assignments. The schools have enormous influence or "clout" over student conduct and careers as they fill the quotas given them by the state and send their graduates to factories, offices, and communes. Entry into the PLA seems to be one of the favored choices for those who can meet its high requirements; and the new examination system does give fairer access to the universities on the basis of ability. Students are clearly less subject now to the dead hand of class heritage and to preferment on subjective political and personal grounds ("back door" access) than at the time of the four. However, their fate still lies very much with the wishes of the state; they have little opportunity to refuse the offer they are made. The system works as well as it does because of the idealism and the acceptance of authority of so many Chinese youth; but there must be millions of casualties: Red Guards whose efforts were later repudiated and condemned; idealistic youth who volunteered for the countryside in response to national appeals and who are now

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[11] I talked in English with one highly educated teacher at a school whose whole conversation and behavior indicated that he had gone through a period of intense humiliation.

told that the nation really needs industrial experts more; young persons sent far away from home. The system is now more humane; "sent down" youths are more frequently sent to communes near their homes; are better treated there, and have more chance to return to the city and to get more education; there are more and better educational programs available; there is more consideration of individual preferences and needs of parents. But many youths are still "dumped" into rural areas to avoid unemployment in the cities; are assigned outside their area of preference; and are stuck for life in places they would rather not be. On the other hand, there are places for everybody—no unemployment, no dropouts. It seems strange, however, that a society that seems to do so exceedingly well with children should do so much less well for its youths. There have been many reports of dissatisfaction among them.

- Making centralization work in education and other areas of society. The agricultural system is very successfully decentralized and we were impressed with the degree of local initiative and responsibility. Large-scale industry by its very nature requires a more centralized system, and it remains to be seen whether it can be made to function as effectively. That task will take a much larger and better-trained bureaucracy, as it will also in education, where the central bureaucracy is now almost miniscule.
- Achieving modernization by the year 2000. This is an enormous task for a 20-year period, given the base from which China starts and the fact that other nations do not stand still. We question whether the systems of higher education and research can carry the burden that will be placed upon them given their greatly weakened capacities. Current policies, however, as far as we came to know them, are properly directed toward strengthening education and research on the road to modernization; but it will take considerable time to overcome the damage done by the four—to "make good the serious losses and the time wasted as a result of sabotage by the Gang of Four."[14]

The biggest issues we see ahead are:

- Can China really be modernized by 2000?
- Will the gang, or its equivalent, come to power once more? Will the pendulum swing again? Can there be a stable synthesis between the contrasting approaches?
- Can higher education and the research establishment carry the burden to be placed upon them by all-out modernization efforts? Or, conversely, will modernization falter because they cannot?
- Will the new meritocracy turn into a "new class?"
- To what extent can equality of opportunity be increased, particularly for those in rural areas, and the comparative equality of income be maintained?
- Can youth be given more freedom of choice while still being assured of a place to serve?

Notations

1. The elapsed time of customary schooling in China is longer than it seems—only 5 to 7 years in rural areas and small towns and 10 in metropolitan areas versus 12 in the United States. The school week, however, is five and one-half versus five days; and the school year is ten and one-half months versus nine. Thus, the number of school days for metropolitan areas is much the same between the two countries, but for rural areas is at least 30 percent less in China and often much more. In China, however, not all areas meet the standards of the national policy. In the United States, on the other hand, absenteeism rates are much higher than in China where the rate is nearly zero. China, as an additional consideration, has much more in the way of child-care (and education) facilities; and primary education starts later in life—at age 7, with plans to advance it to age 6.
2. The Chinese written language is a great handicap to them. It takes so long to learn and learning it continues well into the university level. Much more time must be spent on it than on systems where speaking and writing are more or less integrated. This takes away time from other subjects.
3. Morality, particularly "serve the people," is taught directly and emphatically. Both the morals that are taught and the emphasis on moral teaching are reminiscent of rural America a century ago—the McGuffey Reader. The emphasis is very heavy on

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[14] Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping before the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China (1977, p. 194).

motivation, on group suasion. "Moral conduct" includes trusting the government, including its current leaders—a definition of moral conduct painful to American ears.

4. Much is said and written about equality in China. There are no extremes of wealth and poverty. However, for the mass of the people, the economic rewards are at least as unequal as in the United States—10 to 1 on a family basis within a rural commune; 10 to 1 on a salary basis from the top professor to the gardeners in a university; 5 to 1 from plant managers or top engineers in a factory to starting unskilled workers. China, however, does have a much more equal distribution of incomes than do most rapidly developing countries. Also, many basic necessities are heavily subsidized and this is an equalizing factor. The distribution of power in China is much more unequal from top to bottom than in the United States. If anything, the policies of the Gang of Four led to greater inequality in the distribution of political power or at least influence—monopoly control over and use of the media of communications is an enormous source of influence in China. There is no simple contrast between "equality in China versus inequality in the United States." We saw a society more egalitarian in principle but more hierarchical in practice than the United States.
5. It was our observation that the educational system was comparatively strong in math and science, very strong in the creative and performing arts (with a high ideological content) and physical education, and very weak in the social sciences and humanities.
6. We were very confused about their system of planning; on how they integrate their economic plan, their manpower plan, their educational plan, and their actual placement of school graduates. Who does the planning? How well is it done? When mistakes are made, how are they corrected? What is the integrity of the system? We never penetrated the planning mechanism. We were just told at the local level that they get their "plan" from above and sometimes that they were consulted about it in advance. The "plan" was to us like Kafka's "Castle"—we knew it was there but we could never get to it or even near it; the gates were always closed. The Communist Party was also a ghostly presence—never clearly seen but apparently omnipresent.
7. There is still much confusion about administrative structure in the schools (and in places of work). In some places there are still Revolutionary Committees, although they are on their way out; other places have "leading persons" or "responsible persons"; and other titles are also beginning to be used—even Director and Manager and President and Department Head. It is clear that administrative authority is being greatly increased.
8. The old professors kept their tenure during the 1966 to 1976 period; the newer professors keep their tenure now—after 1976. Politics may be in command; but not over tenure.
9. The Chinese school system is based on the theory of environmental determination: the environment makes the child and the state will make the environment. The child is malleable. The U.S. system assumes more autonomous personalities within children who are to be assisted in their separate developments. The Chinese system may seem to an American, as to one of the members of our group, like "mind-programming," like creating human "Bonzai trees" according to the rules of the current "mass line." The American system may seem to a Chinese, as to one of our guides, as a system that allows some of the worst possible influences to corrupt and deform children; that all children are "programmed" in any event and that we program them badly. Certainly, the Chinese system, from an American point of view, is authoritarian but it is also humane in its treatment of young children and particularly of the less advantaged among them. It seemed much less humane to us in its treatment of youth; but then our system greatly lacks elements of humanity also in its treatment of youth. There is an inherent problem in the transition of youths to adulthood in any industrial society.
10. We concluded on the evidence we saw that much of what is said about the Gang of Four is true. Their path did lead to disaster. They challenged most fundamentally the sense of continuity and orderliness of the Chinese people.
11. China seems to be a society in a stage of development

that needs—or at least makes good use of—its enemies: the four at home, the Russians abroad.

12. We noted how well schools can work with good teachers but poor equipment and facilities. We noted also how the best students are encouraged to assist the teachers and to help other students. We were impressed by the orderly character of the classrooms but we found them to be characterized by rote learning.

What the United States Might Learn

The two systems are so different that little, if anything, can be transferred directly from one to the other except technology and finished products. Our hosts, however, showed interest particularly in our two-year colleges, in our system of college entrance examinations, and in our support of scientific research.

We were impressed with at least two elements of their system:

- The effort to make early contact between the world of work and the world of education; although we were not impressed with the work projects in the schools that we saw.
- The assurance of a place for useful activity for every youth; although we could never find acceptable the compulsory aspects of their system and the lack of choice within it. We provide more freedom of choice but a clearly inadequate total supply of choices. The puzzle is how to provide their assurance with our choice.

China has an authoritarian[15] and communitarian system; the United States has a democratic and individualistic one. China is in an early stage of industrialization and the United States is almost fully industrialized. Thus, it would be unlikely that very much in the way of social policies could be transferred from one to the other. Yet, there are possibilities for mutual learning from each other. The far greater possibility is for greater mutual understanding of each other. What and how the peoples of a nation learn determines much of their contemporary conduct and much of their longer-term history. Thus, knowledge of each other's learning systems is one key to understanding. Both nations are, increasingly, life-long learning societies; and this may well lead to more learning from, or at least about, each other.

Final Comment

An old Chinese proverb: "You see what is already behind your eyes."

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[15] At least one of our members would say "totalitarian" system while noting the absence, at least on the surface, of any signs of a heavy-handed police state at the present time.

Supplement to Section 1

Maoist Educational Reforms*

"While their (the students') main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be revolutionized and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue."

"In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and methods of teaching.

"In this Great Cultural Revolution the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

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*Excerpts from: Gary R. Bietz, *The Politics of Educational Reform in the People's Republic of China: Revolutionary Destruction 1966-68*. Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1972. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1973, pp. 254-257.

"In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by comrade Mao Tse-tung, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become laborers with a socialist consciousness and culture.

"The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material."

"Preferential admission to college should be given to politically sound workers, peasants and soldiers, or their children.

"Physical training classes should be converted into military training classes and militia activities intensified.

"Destroy and abolish all old textbooks; compose and publish new ones.

"All examinations, such as annual, terminal and primary school examinations should be abolished. In short, there should be no examinations at all.

"Politics should be regarded as of primary importance, and not marks. In this, the measure of seeking the consensus of view of all three—the leadership, the teachers and the students—should be adopted.

"Whether a student is allowed to graduate or not will depend on whether he had taken part in manual labor, military service and has succeeded in obtaining the 'ideology graduation certificate.'

"All university and middle school students should adopt the half-work and half-study system.

"Military formation system should be introduced. Schools like *K'ang ta* should be set up and political commissars installed in them. Students should be formed into squads, platoons and companies.

"Control by specialists or professionals of schools and academic institutions should be changed.

"The graduation theses of the past have no real practical value at all. They are a remnant poison of the bourgeoisie and should be completely abolished."

2. General Observations by Members of the Study Group

by Stephen K. Bailey, Alfred B. Fitt, Harold Howe II, James A. Perkins, Alan Pifer, Jerome R. Rosow, John Shea, Willard Wirtz, and Daniel Yankelovich

No single account can adequately convey the many impressions 21 different people might have concerning what they saw and experienced during a visit to the People's Republic of China. The country itself is vast, and each of us brought to our travels different expectations and perspectives. We had several shared interests, but many more individual interests. In order to provide a sample of the many perceptions and conclusions found among us, this section presents some of the observations of nine of our members. Inevitably, there is a certain amount of duplication in their accounts, but this inconvenience is more than offset by the fascinating variety of points of view.

STEPHEN K. BAILEY

Impressions. I came away from China with five major impressions.

First, with all of the marvelous civility of the people, China is a totalitarian society. Politics suffuses everything. That we saw no military or paramilitary—or for that matter police—engaged in bullying or in authoritarian postures is noteworthy. But conformity (what Jefferson referred to as "tyranny over the minds of men") is achievable by more subtle constraints and techniques than overt terror and visible force. I have a deeper appreciation than I had before my visit of the historical reasons for the contemporary Leviathan. And I am aware that many institutional and social realities in the mixed economy of America cruelly constrain real freedom for millions of Americans. But I am so fundamentally a product of my political culture that I still see a vast qualitative difference between a free society and a totalitarian society. The Gang of Four is of recent memory; a "Gang of Six" may be somewhere in the future. There were bars on the dormitory windows of the May 7th Agricultural College near Nanking. According to reputable information, thousands take the dangerous swim to Hong Kong each month. The firing squad is still a political weapon. Job location is state controlled. Deviations and "revisionism" prompt "educational seminars" with revolutionary committees. Music, art, and theater have largely become the handmaidens of politics. The media are completely controlled. Although the United States tries to promote patriotism in the young (the flag salute, the national anthem, the pictures of Washington, Lincoln, and the Declaration of Independence on the walls), the commitment is to tradition and to general propositions, not to Chairman Jimmy Carter and Vice Chairman Warren Burger or Tip O'Neil.

I start with this comment because everything else I saw, including extraordinarily positive and admirable behavior, may be in part functions of the enormously effective social controls that pervade the Chinese society. When we come to the point of listing lessons of possible relevance to our own society, we must constantly remind ourselves that order and freedom are both symbiotic and antithetical. The Chinese are, I think, attempting genuinely to suffuse their totalitarianism with noncoercive persuasion. Nonetheless, against the backdrop of each soft plea is the long shadow of the more formidable apparatus of regimentation—including ultimately the business-end of rifles.

Second, I was less impressed than I hoped to be by the education/work interface. The visits of young people to factories and farms for brief bits of "career education" have their counterparts in the United States. And our "career education" is far richer in substance because of audio-visual materials prepared with the money Sid Marland stimulated in the early 1970s. The "work" aspect of middle school and university life seemed to me limited and largely *pro forma*. Learning on the job in July 21st and May 7th colleges seemed no more effective intrinsically than many of our apprenticeship and cooperative education programs. I was most impressed, I think, with the genuine effort made by the state to inculcate the notion of the dignity and the importance of work of all kinds and to cut away some of the narcissism that seems to affect all intellectual elites. We may be able to learn something from them on the matter of attitudes toward various types of work—although even here the competitive nature of American life limits the possibilities of a substantial egalitarian socialization.

Third, I was struck by the incentive schemes of the communes. How compatible these may turn out to be with the notion of central planning, or even with ideological notions of proximate equities, remains to be seen. But if properly balanced, the ideological stress on the common good, combined with rewards for individual and small-group efforts, may be the most significant amalgam in determining China's real economic progress over the next decades.

Fourth, I was not impressed with either factory technology or factory labor. The former seemed to me to be primitive; the latter appears to have inherited the worst of the labor mentality of the West. But here I may have missed some important clues. I was depressed by the cottage-industry, arts-and-crafts factories. But, then, I am depressed by similar monotonies elsewhere in the world.

Finally, and in spite of what I have just written, I was overwhelmed by the demonstrable accomplishments of this great and numerous society: in education, in health, in urban cleanliness, in simple honesty, in agricultural productivity, in many areas of cultural expression, in courtesy and concern for others. How could one *not* be impressed? Furthermore, the revolution is for real. It follows upon some monstrous evils imposed by crooks and warlords from within and by imperialists (I have finally internalized the real meaning of this term for a nation like China) from without. It is a glorious privilege to see a great people "stand up." Perhaps as time goes on the excesses of revolution will ease off, and the harsh and subtle constraints of totalitarianism will wither away. What will be left will be a society so bathed in civility, so committed to the good of all, so beautiful in the delicacy and profusion of its artistry, and so peace-loving as a sovereign neighbor as to make all civilization before it appear barbaric.

Possible lessons. Again, the differences in constraints pose a huge problem.

1. I should like to believe that we can learn something from the Chinese about the socialization of the young—not in shrill political terms but in terms of "friendship first—competition second."
2. I think they have a greater understanding than we of the role of the arts in education. Their concern for the "whole person" (to coin a phrase) seems more balanced than ours.
3. As I indicated above, the emphasis upon the worth of all kinds of work seems a healthy corrective to a lot of invidiousness that is built into our curricula and our competitive struggles.
4. There may be some lessons in the attempts of the Chinese to find experimental articulations between education and work at all levels and in all settings. I found less here than I had hoped. In consequence, my earlier comments may have underplayed their successes. I assume others will make up for my own inadequate perceptions in this area.
5. Finally, the Chinese have found a lot of work for a lot of people of all ages. The forced labor and the control over job locations bother me deeply. But when I think of the 40 percent of urban minority youth in the United States who feel useless, I must believe that the Chinese experience should prompt us to search for answers that are appropriate within our system of political values.

ALFRED B. FITT

First of all, I saw nothing of significance in China that could usefully be transferred to and adopted by our culture. The absence of tipping, begging, litter, prostitution, petty theft, and urban mugging, and the presence of cheerful and gentle civility and honesty in small matters are all remarkable and wonderful qualities in the mainland

Chinese life we saw. I yearn for those same qualities in the lives we lead in this country, but wishing something to be so does not make it so. I think it impossibly romantic to suppose that we know how—much less are able to make these same qualities pervasive in the United States. We shall have to find our own way; the Chinese have not given us a map.

I came to the same conclusion (but by a different route) about the several attractive institutional devices we saw in China. Here I have in mind the infant day care centers at factories, the workers' and children's palaces, and the homework center we visited in Peking. All except the last have some kind of existing counterpart in the United States. How they evolve and whether they spread or wither here will not depend on lessons to be learned from China but on forces at work within our own economy and culture.

As for the homework center, I suggest we have some other problems to solve before we can expect 9- and 10-year-olds in housing projects to congregate for supervised, orderly attention to the completion of their homework. (Furthermore, I would need to know much more than I do about the purposes of assigning homework, and about the benefits actually gained from doing homework, before I declare myself on what setting is most appropriate for its performance and on where I think the issue ranks on our national agenda.)

Turning to the relationship between education and work, I doubt the need and confess the inability to make a judgment about what the Chinese are doing. With the exception of the language school students who were getting exposure to English speakers while temporarily working at the Kweilin hotel, we saw no clinical or academic connection between the educational programs students were pursuing and the labor they performed, whether at the school itself or elsewhere. I am not bothered by the absence of such a connection; I just assume that China's leaders had another purpose when the work requirement was imposed on students—that is, to end or blur the class lines between intellectuals and those who work with their hands. While I withhold judgment as to whether what those leaders did was right for China's circumstances, I am positive the same kinds of measures would be quite wrong and uncalled for in our circumstances.

The relationship between work and education was something else again. It seemed to me the Chinese made great sense when they began delivering education programs to people as workers rather than to people as students. Having schools at the job sites strikes me as an efficient way to deal with widespread adult illiteracy, and I suppose there is a big increase in motivation and reinforcement when the student body is held together by a common employer as well as by a common inability to read and write.

I came away from China convinced that gigantic change still lies ahead for them in their approach to postsecondary education. With a middle school student population of 70 million, the current yearly crop of secondary school graduates must be at least 12 million. Of course I do not have a basis for confident predictions of the numbers 10 years hence, but given that there are now 150 million in primary school, that the absolute numbers of preschoolers will probably continue to rise, and that the government is promoting more widespread enrollments in middle school, the annual crop of secondary school graduates could easily become 25 to 30 million in just a few years. Even if postsecondary enrollments are doubled in the meantime, the proportions of middle school graduates going on to further education would fall from about 3 percent to about 2 percent—an unacceptable trend in a society with the modernization goals China has set for itself.

I have no idea what the "right" proportion is, but my guess is that 10 percent is at the bottom of a plausible range—or 3 million matriculants a year by the late 1980s, 10 times as many as they now can handle. It will take quite some doing to bring on stream in an orderly way the teachers and campuses required for such an expansion. Obviously there will also have to be some wise and heroic planning if the output of the postsecondary system is to come close to matching the manpower needs of the Chinese economy as it changes and grows.

HAROLD HOWE II

Education and work in China. The People's Republic of China has been making a serious effort to relate education and work for 30 years in the belief that these two spheres of activity will reinforce each other. This effort has gone through three periods: (a) From Liberation (1949) to 1966; (b) The Cultural Revolution starting in 1966 through the most radical excesses of that revolution (now blamed on the Gang of Four) in 1975-76; and (c) The period from 1976 to the present characterized by a return to pre-1966 values and a renewed emphasis on the need to master learning skills and factual knowledge in the education sector of the education/work relationship.

China's interest in the education/work relationship stems from two sources: Socialist (Marxist) economic concepts and a very practical view of what China has to do to advance living standards in an underprivileged and predominantly agricultural country of 900 million people with a generally low standard of living. A further assumption underlying China's development of education/work policies and practices is the belief that individuals are subservient to the state and have a primary obligation to advance its interests. Meaning and purpose in the lives of China's people comes from their contribution to the continuing revolution rather than from any ideas about freedom, individual rights and the like. These background doctrines underlying the development of the education/work relationship in China raise important qualifications about the possibility of transferring to other societies with other values the plans and programs China has developed.

China's development of the education/work relationship was never mentioned in any of our discussions unless the third element of "politics" (the proletarian revolution) was introduced. Indoctrination in the ideology of the revolution is seen as equally important with education and work in advancing the development of China. Indeed, the motivation for accepting certain sacrifices (going to the country for educated youth, assignment by the state as people move from education to work) is provided by an ideology that permeates not only education and work but also everyday living. This ideology is everywhere—in the pictures of political leaders past and present, in the loudspeakers mounted in rice paddies and public squares, and in the study of politics by neighborhood groups. China today stands on a three-legged stool of education, work, and ideology.

We saw China at a specially rewarding moment for looking at its education/work practices and policies. The major shift of policy resulting from ousting the Gang of Four in 1976 had been in operation long enough to have filtered down into educational institutions and work places. There must have been a time in 1976 and even 1977 when people were doubtful and even incredulous because of the depth and significance of the change. But now people in schools, colleges, universities, communes and factories are quite sure what the new doctrines are, and they are hurrying to put them into operation. The confidence and even joy of teachers and professors was everywhere evident.

We saw more of urban institutions and of work/education relationships concerned with the modern industrial sector of the economy than we did of what is going on among the 75 to 80 percent of Chinese in rural circumstances. Although we visited two communes and an agricultural college, these were located near large cities and were probably not typical of much of China, particularly those sections of the country where agriculture is more marginal and more subject to the whims of nature.

Interesting to the United States. A number of interesting comparisons between China and the United States emerged:

1. In the Shanghai steel works and a transistor factory, we saw interesting examples of how productive industry is engaged in and consciously planning for the education of workers either within its own shops and classrooms or in cooperation with the formal education system. My impression of the United States is that the education system supported by industry is relatively out of touch with the nonprofit educational institutions we traditionally think of as constituting education. I wonder whether the United States hasn't something to gain by rethinking this relationship—not necessarily to do it in the Chinese way, but with recognition that China does offer an example of having forged more definitive relationships between education and work than we have. We have a very different situation from China in working on the education/work relationship because we have at least four separate centers of power involved—autonomous educational institutions, private enterprise, labor unions, and government. China has only one decision-making system, and it involves the Communist Party and the government.

2. It is a paradox that the United States, as a largely nonagricultural country (4 percent of the population is so engaged) still runs its schools on a calendar based on the need for young people to work on farms. China as a predominantly agricultural country, on the other hand, keeps its kids in school for ten and one half months. Of course China lets its students off for work when they are needed, but maybe China could awaken the United States to the unreality of its educational calendar.
3. There is an evident contrast between the universal seriousness of purpose and order of the classrooms we saw and the lack of these qualities in *some* U.S. classrooms. But it would be dangerous to generalize too far on this point for two reasons: (a) There is much more serious, purposeful, and effective learning going on in the U.S. schools today than reading the press would make one believe; and (b) at least some of these qualities in China are created by a system of indoctrination and a lack of emphasis on training for individual responsibility that would be totally unacceptable in the U.S.
4. China solves its problem of finding work for teenage school graduates by assigning them where they are needed. This is just not a useful model for the U.S.A. There is lip service, and possibly some genuine idealism, associated with the idea of volunteering in China, but it seems clear that personal preferences that go against the grain of the system are, at the very least, a basis for "re-education." Yet the nagging feeling remains that Chinese youth are possibly more dedicated than American youth. We have no basis in our observations for any such generalization. If the U.S. decides to look seriously at a program of national service for youth, it should be based on a different set of assumptions than the national service in which most Chinese youth are involved.
5. It is interesting, but probably not significant, that the period of revolutionary excesses in Chinese education (late sixties and early seventies) came at the same time as various disruptions on college and university campuses in the U.S. If there was any connection, I can't imagine what it might have been.
6. Chinese education as we saw it and had it explained to us throws interesting light on an old problem that most every country with an education system has to face—how to accommodate the claims of equality and the claims of quality. While China's response on this issue may not be directly relevant to the U.S., it is interesting that it is very close to ours—China wants to do both and, with various shifts of emphasis, has been doing both for some years. If the figures given to us at the University Service Center in Hong Kong are anywhere near correct, the conquest of illiteracy since the Liberation has been a remarkable achievement and a powerful move toward equality. On the other hand, the ancient tradition of elitist scholarship carried over into the first years of the People's Republic of China, and it was against this that Mao launched his Cultural Revolution as an equalizing device. Since 1976 China has had a reawakened concern for quality in education but a strong interest in equality remains. Examples of this are found in programs to promote literacy and learning among minorities and in the minister's statement to us that there is a tentative plan to give access to higher education to all by the year 2000. While China's present revival of education after the Cultural Revolution and the Gang of Four is being widely described as an elitist revival, I suspect that it is really a sort of synthesis that will place a more balanced emphasis on both quality and equality. I doubt that the politics of the situation will allow the professors to run off with all the goodies any more than they will allow a resurgence of the know-nothing attitudes of the Cultural Revolution. In milder terms this situation has its counterpart in the U.S. In the 1960s, we placed great emphasis on equality and access, but in the later 1970s we have realized that doing so had created some problems of quality in American education. We are now trying to work on those but without diluting our commitment to equality. I think that these generalizations about the U.S. apply to both schools and higher education, just as they do in China.

7. In regard to centralization of control by the national government, Chinese and American education are on different tracks. China is consciously and vigorously centralizing the control of school curricula and of testing for admission to college. The U.S. is wary of both of these types of involvement by the national government. At the state level in the U.S., however, there is considerable movement toward more centralized control of schools and colleges as well as considerable opposition to it—particularly from the private sector. China seems to me to be on the way toward one of the most centralized and standardized education systems in the world. In the U.S., we are trying to preserve our diversity.
8. The declared interest of China in reconnecting its schools with those around the world provides an opportunity the U.S. should grasp. No doubt there will be some problems because Chinese universities are not really espousing academic freedom as a part of their new emphasis on learning. My guess, therefore, is that scholarly contacts may work better in the hard sciences than in the social sciences and humanities.
9. In a sense, education is on the way up in China and on the way down in the U.S., where people are voting down bond issues, complaining that its costs exceed its benefits, and generally arguing that social problems can't be solved through education. China on the other hand believes that they can and is using education as the basic engine for economic development.

About China in general. Three points might be made:

1. Although we didn't see enough or gather enough information to prove this point, I would guess that China's strategies for economic development in both agriculture and industry bring more of the benefits of that development to the people on the bottom of the economic ladder than is the case in India, for example. If this is true, it is of course done at the cost of many freedoms. At the same time, the question of how much meaning those freedoms have for landless villagers in Bihar is worth raising. It is not our task, but we might suggest that someone do a comparative study of agricultural production in China's communes, where land is owned in common, and India's villages, where land reform has been much talked about without much progress.
2. It is easy to find parallels between today's China and other authoritarian regimes. Some people, for example, find similarities between the People's Republic of China and Nazi Germany. For reasons which in part elude me, these similarities don't ring true. For one thing, the Chinese don't hate anyone because of his race, or religion, or national origins. They dislike American policy and are frank about saying so, but they clearly like Americans. Their policies toward their 55 million minority persons appear to be humane and progressive—at least if we are to believe what we were told. TIME magazine speaks of prison camps operated in Laos by the Chinese for purposes of "re-education." There may well be such. I was told by a U.S. Embassy staff member that there is repressive control by the Chinese military in places where foreigners are not allowed to travel and where there are still strikes and other forms of opposition to government policy. So although the picture is probably mixed, there appears to be some reason to think about modern China in a different way from our view of Nazi Germany or even the Soviet Union.
3. A major contrast between China and the U.S.A. is found in the way the people regard the military. In China it is an honor to have a child enter the army and many of the most able young people do so. In the U.S. such feelings are considerably diluted since Vietnam, and the military has become the employer of last resort for young people who can't get jobs elsewhere.

Comments on China and India. These observations should be regarded warily by anyone seeking a truly informed comparison of modern China with modern India. Their author has spent a total of three weeks in China and about two years in India. While he has read some background material on both countries, he is a scholar of neither. Yet, in spite of these disqualifications, it may help anyone thinking about China to have even the superficial observations that follow.

India is a country with about one-third of the land area of the United States and containing some 650 million people, about 80 percent of whom live in rural areas and are predominantly engaged in farming. China is a country about equal in size to the United States with an estimated population of 900 million, heavily concentrated in its eastern portions and, like India, with four-fifths of its population rural and predominantly farming. By all odds, these are the two most populous countries in the world, with the Soviet Union coming in a poor third with 260 million people. Their 1.5 billion inhabitants account for a third of the human race and no doubt will constitute a larger proportion as the years go on, particularly as India's population reaches 1 billion, as it certainly will by the year 2000.

Agricultural activities such as growing rice, irrigating, developing wheat areas in certain regions, and the like are very similar in these two lands separated by the Himalayan Mountains. But despite these common denominators, one is struck by the differences between India and China rather than the similarities. In India there has been a great deal of talk about land reform and very little action on it; so there continue to be large numbers of landless persons on the lowest rungs of the economic and social ladder. Private land holdings continue to shrink and hence are less capable of supporting their owners. Tensions from these developments have led to land grabbing, riots, and violence in several parts of the country.

On the other hand, China's Communist revolution liquidated private ownership of real property. Land is generally owned and farmed on a group basis in communes. While I have no knowledge of the relative efficiency of Indian and Chinese agriculture in an overall sense, it seems likely that larger-scale irrigation and more comprehensive planning available through the commune system would give China an advantage if other factors such as the availability of fertilizer and the control of pests were equal. China clearly makes more efficient use of human waste for fertilizer than does India.

From the superficial viewpoint of a brief visit to China, one can't help remarking on other differences between the two countries. One simply doesn't see any beggars in China; one sees a great many in India. Basic health services seem to be available in China through barefoot doctors and other sources on a reasonably widespread basis; many people in India have very little access at all to either preventive medicine or treatment. The Indian effort to engage large numbers of medical technicians in service to the countryside is, at best, sporadically successful.

No one really knows the accurate figures on the rate of population growth in China, but numerous estimates by experts indicate that it is considerably lower than in other predominantly rural, agricultural areas, particularly India. The Chinese system of preventing marriage both by social pressure and not providing housing until women are over 25 years old and men are somewhat older than that stands in sharp contrast to India's pattern of relatively early marriage, accompanied by the importance to Hinduism of having a surviving son in every family and the pressures for children to provide labor on farms. While India has almost certainly had some success in its many population control programs, it is currently growing at the net rate of about 15 million additional persons per year and will surely reach a billion people in this century. What information is available suggests that China will grow more slowly.

The farming life of Chinese peasants probably varies a great deal more than any Western traveler can discern in the places he is allowed to visit, and even in those places, work routines are demanding and the peasants are at the bottom of the social and economic heap. At the same time, I have to say that our visit indicated nothing like the conditions one finds among landless peasants of the Ganges Valley in India, where agricultural poverty is exacerbated by social discrimination growing out of the caste system. In India, I have seen untouchables who survive for part of the year by digging underground in the wheat fields to gather the few scattered grains which have been collected by rats and deposited for use by them throughout the year. Maybe something like this exists in China, but neither in our visit nor in reading about the country did we get a hint of it. The impression one receives is of adequate food widely distributed.

India has a problem of unemployment among its educated youth concentrated in the cities where their frustrations lead to political disorders. China's educated youth are regularly shipped to the countryside to work on farms or in smaller towns in order to promote economic development and to avoid unhealthy growth of cities.

The total impression one gets of China as compared with that of India is that the economic system has done a better job of distributing whatever benefits there are to the lower levels of society in the People's Republic than it has in the former British Empire. But of course one has to set this generalization against the limitations on human freedom in China, as compared to India. The latter has a truly elective government, reasonable freedom of the press, open communications and travel, and, within the modern sector of the economy, a certain amount of opportunity for people to be upwardly mobile. In China, none of these exist. Youth are exported from the cities whether they want to go or not. News is tightly controlled. There are powerful systems of indoctrination, and political activity and personal behavior are under close government supervision. While much of this control appears to be cheerfully accepted under the teaching of Mao Tse-tung, it is essentially a totalitarian system.

These surface comparisons seem to pose a certain paradox. Is misery for 25 percent of the population the price to be paid for freedom? I have no resolution for this issue, but it seems sharply drawn today between the world's two largest nations.

JAMES A. PERKINS

The counterrevolution. The overriding political fact of life that conditions the economic, social and political developments in China is that China is involved in a counterrevolution of major proportions. Since the death of Mao and the arrival of Hua and Teng, the new China is essentially an effort to remember the old China—at least the old China before the Cultural Revolution. Like Europe at the end of World War II, China seems determined to reestablish the *status quo ante* the Cultural Revolution. Social progress is therefore more a process of trying to remember than trying to invent.

The clearance of Mao. Because Mao is an essential symbol of both the revolution and Chinese unity but also the *de facto* architect of the Cultural Revolution which is to be abandoned, the Gang of Four has been singled out as the political lightning rod and social scapegoat. By placing the blame on these undoubted extremists, Mao's Cultural Revolution can be dismantled without dismantling Mao. Hence the litany of all blame to the Gang of Four, all innocence to Mao—a simplistic and probably necessary political stratagem which has been so often repeated it has now been widely accepted as truth.

Attitudes toward work. Work is a good thing; productive labor is a very good thing; and productive farm labor is an especially very good thing. In order to establish work as a good thing, children from kindergarten on up talk about the value of work and do even of the most simple clean-up type of work in school. Later, work becomes part of the weekly or monthly routine, although generally in minimal amounts. And still later, being involved in productive labor, either on the farm or in the factory, becomes an important part of the social creed and in varying measure part of the academic program.

I found it very hard to integrate doctrine with observable fact. Three outstanding impressions remain: (1) Practice varies widely all over China largely because decisions about how to integrate work and education are left to local and neighborhood authorities. (2) Work connected with schools varied from frivolous to simplistic. (3) Finally, while direct comparisons are difficult, I have the impression that in the United States there is a far more rich and varied set of work opportunities for children and young adults of school age than exists in China for farm labor and educated youth.

The determination to improve rural circumstances is one of the most impressive features of the Chinese experiment. Sending middle school graduates to rural areas reflects this policy as well as a desire to solve the unemployment problem in the cities, and for a variety of reasons this policy of connecting education with labor is not really a connection except insofar as "educated youth" actually contribute to a more sophisticated rural technology (which may be true although not demonstrably true) and insofar as the experience on the farm has given urban youth an appreciation of what hard manual labor is all about (which is true for some).

One cannot help but reflect on the enormous advantage of a private sector (such as is found in the U.S.) that makes a great variety of work opportunities possible for those who need it or wish it. In comparison, the work opportunities for school and college children in China are limited and without variety. For the rural children, work in the fields is part of 2,000 years of heritage. The children of peasants need no education about the importance of work, nor do the children of factory workers. It is the children of the professional classes, including the military, who frequently have come to think of hard labor as demeaning and hand labor as a function of lower classes only. It is this attitude that has raised bitterness all around the world and China was no exception. To the extent that this notion has been blunted, current educational doctrine toward work must be put down as a plus feature on the Chinese scene even if the work itself—outside of strict employment in farm and factory—seems frivolous.

The education of adults. While work carried on in school was not terribly impressive, educational opportunity for those who work represents probably the central contribution of the Cultural Revolution in this area. The educational programs for farm workers and factory workers are considerable and increasing. These practice-oriented programs are eagerly sought after, and one has the impression that those involved know why they are there and what they expect from it and are probably getting what they look for.

In all poor countries, life for the worker, be he in farm or factory, is dull by our standards, but leisure-time activities in China have a fractional educational content, certainly in the arts, through the various "workers' palaces," and similar leisure-time organizations.

Similar problems, different solutions. Chinese society is so greatly different from our own that sometimes it disguises the fact that the problems they face are not all that dissimilar. The intellectual, snobbish view toward manual labor; the need to reconcile political purpose and administrative neutrality; the need to select the talented in an arena dedicated to equal opportunity; and the need to make basic research useful without losing its creative features—all of these and many more problems beset Chinese managers as well as those in the United States and other major industrial societies.

Where the Chinese system permits local initiative, there has been imaginative and constructive development, as in the village commune and the occasional enterprising factory like the one we saw organized by women. Where the Chinese system requires management by public bureaucracy, the jury is out as to whether reports of inefficiency are correct and, if correct, whether they can be dealt with. The greatest danger I saw is the drift toward centralization, the move toward state ownership and management, and the absence of any viable and sensible critique system. Perhaps the Chinese can survive these difficulties. They are serious ones.

ALAN PIFER

Many of China's major successes and failures are readily apparent to the visitor, especially to someone who has spent some time in other developing areas of the world. In drawing up the following list, I relied mainly on what I actually observed and heard in China, although this was supplemented to some extent by information obtained from articles and books read prior to making the trip.

Major achievements.

1. Meeting the basic needs of 950 million people for food, shelter, clothing and health care
2. The provision of basic sanitation throughout the country and eradication of contagious diseases
3. The spread of literacy to virtually the entire population
4. The establishment of a successful family planning program on a national scale
5. Protection of the welfare of every member of society by decentralizing this responsibility to the lowest levels of government
6. Providing employment to every person of working age
7. Investing heavily in children—in their health, education and general welfare
8. Making the elderly functioning, contributing, respected members of the community and preventing their isolation from other age groups
9. Controlling the growth of cities and preventing the proliferation of shanty towns around them
10. Establishing high standards of husbandry in the countryside, taking excellent care of the land, and permitting none of it to be used unproductively
11. Unifying the Chinese people, building national pride and self-respect and building external respect for China

Problems still to be solved.

1. Generally low level of productivity and efficiency in industry
2. Poor overall quality and inadequate size of the educational system, especially at the postsecondary level
3. Severe shortages of professionally and technically trained people
4. Low level of technology in general use throughout the economy
5. Overcrowded housing and poor quality of much of it
6. Inadequate and overtaxed transportation system
7. Lower availability of amenities, especially education, in rural compared to urban areas
8. Discontent among some young people because of the strict regimentation of their lives and lack of opportunity for advancement
9. Insufficient variety and quantity of consumer goods
10. Visual unattractiveness of the cities—general garishness of design and neglect of aesthetic quality of life

Final thoughts. A visit to China is a fascinating experience, because of both its intrinsic interest and the comparisons it invites between Chinese and Western societies. In a sense, of course, these societies cannot be compared because they are based on such entirely different premises, the one completely corporate in nature, the other largely individualistic. It is probably pointless to try to judge China in our terms, horrifying as some aspects of life there are to us, especially the regimentation, pressure for conformity, and suppression of individual choice. One can only ask if their system seems to be working for the *Chinese*, and here, at the least, one must recognize China's enormous achievement in providing adequate food and health care to its nearly one billion people. It is equally pointless to try to judge Western societies in Chinese terms, so different are our conditions, requirements, and beliefs. Nonetheless, the very fact of the wide disparity in the ideological outlook and conditions of life between China and the West tempts one at least to speculate about China's future and to ask some searching questions about our own.

Most of the questions about China's future are related to a large, central issue that has agitated the People's Republic since its founding—the issue of whether modernization can be achieved without the creation of a self-perpetuating elite enjoying powers and privileges unavailable to the masses. Mao's exploitation of popular distrust of such an elite and appeal to the egalitarian ideal of Chinese Communism provoked the Cultural Revolution in 1966; widespread concern over the harm being done to China's modernization effort by the near anarchy the Revolution caused brought it to an abrupt halt 10 years later. Currently, the needs of modernization rule the day—the reestablishment of a competitive educational system based on intellectual ability and achievement, the advancement of science and technology, and a movement toward centralized decision making and control as a means to greater administrative efficiency.

Where will the needs of modernization lead? Will the cadres that have been restored to their former positions accept the burden of leadership and responsibility that has been placed on them without demanding rewards greater than those generally available to others? Will they be content with a life of total conformity to group norms or seek greater scope for the expression of individual initiative and choice? Will their children, because of the greater intellectual quality of their home life and ambitions of their parents, gain a head start over other children and a competitive edge in the meritocratic race ahead? Will a new elite thereby become self-perpetuating?

And if this happens, how will China avoid becoming the kind of Orwellian "animal farm" for which it is presently so scornful of the Soviet Union? What will be the fate of the genuine idealism that presently plays such a large part in giving China's huge population a sense of common purpose? Will there be a violent swing of the pendulum back toward egalitarianism—a new Cultural Revolution? In the face of such a possibility, can China find a way to maintain an orderly succession in its top leadership when this is necessary, or will there always be the kind of scramble for power that characterized Mao's declining years? What, indeed, are the prospects for stability in the world's largest nation? These are the sorts of questions that inevitably occur to a visitor to China at this transitional time in its history.

If, however, a trip to the People's Republic raises questions about its future, it also raises questions about the future of Western nations, especially the United States. Seen from the perspective of China's demanding, Spartan, purposeful, and highly moralistic existence, American society seems somewhat flabby, profligate, and lacking in moral fiber and purpose, and our people rather weak and self-indulgent. In contrast with China's humane treatment of the elderly, their isolation in our society appears heartless. In contrast with China's highly developed and well-organized policies for guaranteeing the welfare of all its children, the neglect suffered by many of our children seems criminal. In contrast with China's emphasis on a sense of mutual obligation between the individual and society, in which each has clearly-defined, binding responsibilities toward the other, the alienation felt by many Americans and the casualness with which the society permits them to become dropouts is frightening.

The Chinese are true believers. They *believe* in communism. They *believe* in the new order they have established in their country. To a Western observer they appear deliberately to have sacrificed individual freedom in the interest of these beliefs. Probably few Chinese, however, would agree that any such sacrifice has been made, for to them the Western concept of freedom would seem entirely negative—freedom only for the individual to exploit others or to be exploited. The Chinese would see freedom in quite different—and to them much more positive—terms as a broad societal goal having nothing to do with individual liberty as we understand it. To them, freedom will have been attained when every person has enough to eat, when adequate education and health care are universally available, when the capacities of all citizens are being fully developed and used, and when China has the industrial and military strength to hold its head high in the world. Despite the enormous setback caused by the Cultural Revolution, and granting the possibility that the growth of an elite, privileged class may cause Chinese communism to turn into something more like the Russian version, in which, in the final analysis, the nation is held together only by terror, China may well be on the way to achieving its goal of freedom. This would not be an appealing society to many Westerners because of the large degree of state control implicit in it, but it may very possibly be one with which the vast majority of the Chinese people are well satisfied. In this eventuality, China might be able to lay claim to a considerable share of the world's moral leadership and exert a powerful influence on other nations, especially on the developing nations of the Third World.

One returns from China highly conscious of its failures but also with considerable respect for its achievements, with many questions but also an open mind about its future. Whether or not its system has anything to teach the West, the sense one gets of total national commitment to it is so impressive it is bound to raise questions in the visitor's mind about the future strength of our system. The issue, in a nutshell, is whether the great strengths inherent in the Western concept of individual liberty and free choice will in the future sufficiently outweigh the grave social weaknesses of this system and enable the United States and other Western nations to hold their own in the growing world competition with nations based on a collectivist ideology. This issue will become infinitely more critical if China, with its enormous reservoir of human talent, ever does become the success it has the clear potential of becoming. If a visit to China can jar one into thinking more deeply about that disturbing question, it is to be hoped that many more Americans will have the experience of going there.

JEROME M. ROSOW

Chinese population problems. China's enormous population, estimated at 850 to 900 million, may prove an asset or a liability to the nation, depending on whether the government can slow population growth to manageable proportions. Unfortunately, the very measures that China must take to feed its hundreds of millions are also those that encourage further growth and limit the government's ability to reduce the birth rate.

The government has always been more successful in limiting the birth rate in urban areas, but 80 percent of the population lives in rural areas, largely on communes. In order to understand why it is difficult to limit the birth rate in so large a segment of the population, some understanding is required of the system of rewards and incentives that encourage agricultural production.

The commune is organized into production teams, consisting of approximately 100 workers, including family groupings. Every worker in the same family unit receives a proportionate share of the net earnings of the production team, but over and above this amount, individual workers are paid according to the total number of work points accumulated each year. The number of points accumulated depends both on attendance and effort. Individual earnings may vary as much as six to one; family earnings, by as much as ten to one. Families are encouraged to save money and to acquire property.

Certain factors stemming from this system tend to encourage population growth:

1. The greater the number of able-bodied workers in a family, the more income a family can expect to earn. There exists, therefore, a strong incentive to have many children.
2. State-supported child care also makes it feasible to have large families. Early child care makes it possible for mothers to continue working; the easy availability of food, clothing, and housing further reduces the economic burden on parents.
3. Because China cannot afford to support a social security system for its agricultural sector, old people in rural areas are supported by their children, making it advantageous to have many offspring.
4. In accordance with ancient custom, the family is revered in the People's Republic of China. Thus, despite its authoritarian government, China does not mandate the size of families and does not require birth control by law.
5. The fact that women work alongside men and rank equally with them, particularly in rural areas, has encouraged the rearing of female offspring. This change in attitude, together with the outlaw of infanticide and improved health care, has reduced the infant mortality rate.
6. The delayed marriage age and the disapproval of outward displays of sex discourage the growth of population by reducing the number of childbearing years. On the other hand, children remain in the family longer, providing many of the advantages described above and offsetting the favorable effect of the delayed marriage age on population growth.
7. Improved medical care as well as the provision of food, clothing, and housing for everyone have improved the health and longevity of the Chinese people and have contributed to a lower infant mortality rate, as noted above.

In light of these factors, one must be concerned about the ability of the People's Republic of China to limit population growth effectively. Unless this is accomplished, the plan to fulfill the goals of modernization will not be realized.

JOHN SHEA

We went to China to study relations between education and work. If asked, what did we learn? I would say:

1. Work—meaning hard physical labor—is more obvious and more important in China than in the United States. One sees a good deal of backbreaking labor there. Most adults farm for a living; per capita income is relatively low; transportation is far from being fully mechanized. One implication for children is that acquiring an intellectual understanding of the importance of work is facilitated.
2. Despite the importance of work, one sees both labor redundancies in urban areas and peaks and troughs in the need for farm workers in rural areas. Eight drivers and automobiles may be used when one driver and a bus would do. The schools and colleges we visited had sizable contingents of cooks, gardeners, factory workers, and the like to assist students and teachers and to help in campus workshops. Work expectations at school are rather modest. At Chungshan University one of us asked if university students help out around the campus. We were told this was not the practice. (A forthcoming report of another study group, chaired by Ralph Tyler, relates a conversation in which a young woman, about to be married, complains about never having learned to cook because she went to a boarding school.)

3. In combining work with schooling, a socialist system is at a distinct advantage. Decisions can be made without having to worry about the fairness of child labor in an otherwise competitive environment. Schools, prisons, sheltered workshops, and similar public facilities in the United States generally operate under tight constraints, because they can jeopardize the potential well-being of employers and workers in the private sector. At several stops along our journey, it was emphasized how gardens, farms, and workshops help schools economically by lessening the amount of money needed from higher authorities. In a mixed economy such as ours, a money-raising argument for work as part of schooling would doubtless run into opposition.
4. Almost surely, some recent disenchantment with "open-door schooling" in China stems from the frequent failure to distinguish political work from other forms of work. It would be useful for American scholars to study the Chinese experience carefully. It is sometimes assumed that work will enhance learning in general, but this is not always true. There is a literature in the United States, for example, which suggests that work-education programs, especially in the high schools, sometimes result in less learning, not more. In the U.S., as well as China, policy makers often argue about "work as part of education" on ideological grounds; rarely is the matter examined empirically.
5. I was impressed by the absence of proliferation of course work in schools and colleges, a serious problem in many less-developed countries not noted for flexibility and efforts at curriculum reform. However, there is so little differentiation of the middle school curriculum in China that it probably would be socially desirable to have the schools more active in the development of middle-level occupational skills. A spokesman at the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking reported that American businessmen encounter major skill deficits among middle school graduates. Mr. Lin, of the State Bureau of Labor, made a pitch for apprenticeship and said it is cheaper than vocational school training. I had the impression, however, that when Mr. Lin said "cheaper," he meant that the ostensible draw on the public budget was less, not that the true social cost was less—a more subtle and more difficult-to-answer question.
6. I was struck by the elasticity in Mao's basic principle: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." The first part is now officially defined in terms of achieving the Four Modernizations. The Chinese Communist Party has determined that in the "New Period," the Four Modernizations will advance the interests of workers and the Chinese people. The "productive labor" idea has been expanded from farming, manufacturing, and construction to include all forms of economically useful effort. From a pedagogical point of view, the principle now means simply to combine theory with practice, a venerable Marxist ideal. The old idea was more revolutionary in nature: ideological tempering through work and study with workers and peasants.

WILLARD WIRTZ

Clark Kerr's essay is so keenly perceptive and finely balanced that I hesitate to add even two or three footnotes to what he has written. In looking back, it seems that we all, hosts and guests alike, spent so much time on the "who-done-it" aspects of the Gang of Four story that its larger significance was obscured. I confess as much curiosity as anybody else about whether that gangrenous quartet acted entirely on its own evil initiative or to some undefined degree as an instrument of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's original purpose. The best guess is probably that when age caught up with Mao, his colleagues had gotten out of control. All that is really important is that when absolute power corrupted absolutely just a handful of people—four or five or even a few more—there was nothing 900 million others could do about it until the Chairman's death 10 years after the ill-starred Cultural Revolution began.

As one listens to obviously wise and fine professors at Tsinghua University vie with each other in describing the abuses heaped on them personally and on education in general during those 10 years, one realizes that implicit in their outpourings now is the fact that there was no academic freedom to say these things when it would have counted. There were no opposition parties to even whisper criticism or dissent, no private corporations or labor unions to express self-interests that might be contrary to government policy but that would, by their variety, add up to an expression of the public interest. There were no checks and balances within the government, particularly no judiciary independent and strong enough to bring either one giant or four fanatical accomplices to account. Furthermore, if history is to be re-written to preserve leadership's face even at the cost of truth, the critical opportunity to learn the lesson of stewardship's fallibility is lost.

I came away from Peking with an unanticipated ambivalence about Chinese socialism. It seems to me now that the political course taken there in 1949 may have been right for them—as our own totally different choice has been for us. There are four times as many Chinese as there are Americans, and they have one-quarter as much arable land. Starting from comparable chaos and inhuman conditions 30 years ago, communism has done in China what democracy has not been able to do in India—guarantee everybody a meaningful right to life's physical necessities. The price in various individual freedoms of choice seems terribly high but at least arguably defensible—except for the constraints on effective organization of political dissent and disagreement. The People's Republic seems inherently vulnerable to the kind of corruption of power which almost did it in and which is now charged up on convenient hindsight to the Gang of Four.

So far as the interrelating of education and work is concerned, I concur in the conclusion that nothing we saw in the People's Republic appears exportable to the United States in its made-in-China form. We were afforded, nevertheless, an invaluable different perspective on this relationship. Principal emphasis has been placed in this country on improving the immediate passage from schooling to employment, from youth to adulthood. The Chinese are paying more attention to what can be done during the much broader life experience, starting at the preschool stage and going through to include significant adult education.

Apparently, the most effective interrelating of education and work in the People's Republic occurs at the child-care center, kindergarten, and early primary grade levels. For better or for worse, children there are deliberately "indoctrinated" right from the start of their formal education with the importance of working hard and doing well whatever they are assigned to do. Although this emphasis is centered on the academic and extracurricular activities in which the students are immediately engaged, the curriculum includes clearly identifiable components relating to future work prospects. Reading assignments and arithmetic problems involve work situations. Most of the songs and dances performed so expertly and charmingly for tourists have themes and titles with either political or work-and-service accents and overtones. The training is as much in attitudes as in skills, with work extolled not just as a necessary element of production but also as a human value.

It is easiest and perhaps most self-assuring for witnesses from a Western democracy to ascribe this to no more than what can be done if education is directed at shaping instead of opening and strengthening formative minds. Those six larger-than-life-size portraits in every school—of Chairman Mao and Hua and Stalin and Messrs. Marx and Engels and Lenin—haunt you after you leave. You cringe at the repeated quoting of Mao: "The purposes of education are to serve proletarian politics and contribute to productive labor." Those reading and arithmetic tie-ins with work and those songs and dances about the raptures of picking tea leaves and digging with hoes and working on production lines all fit in with the traditional assumptions about the mind-conditioning that goes with preparing human puppets to submit their lives to master manipulators who decide what work each individual is to do to bolster a precarious gross national product.

Nevertheless one comes away wondering more than a little if it might not be possible to develop at least as high a degree of educational motivation around democracy's precepts as around those of communism; whether there might not be some lesson here for a free society very much concerned right now about its young people's skills and about their attitudes toward work; whether it may not possibly be a matter more of pedagogy than of politics.

In Chinese schools the younger children especially seem to be doing their assignments—six days a week, eleven months a year, with lots of homework—not only exceedingly well but with apparent pleasure and satisfaction. They sit there alert, intent, and eager. Whatever disciplinary pressures are involved never show up. If some form or other of fear is driving these kids, they do not show it. The relationships among them seem more supportive than competitive. One gets a strong impression of *enjoyed* discipline and perfectionism, of *fun* in excellence, of *pleasure* in thoughtfulness toward others. The indoctrination curriculum includes not only politics and work but also the life values of excellence in general, and of learning and honesty and beauty and love. And when the guide-interpreter is questioned about "indoctrination," she presses (even if ever so politely) the point that *every* child's mind is *always* "indoctrinated" by whatever may be all the elements in the individual's experience. It is a question of indoctrination as against no indoctrination, or of how carefully inevitable indoctrination is to be guided?

There is nothing new about any of this. The American and European literature is full of the argument about how far education should go in conditioning human minds. What we saw in those child-care centers, kindergartens, and primary grade classrooms confirmed for me the importance of looking more carefully at this most formative of all stages in doing whatever we propose to do about interrelating education and work. If this interrelationship suggests stunting children's growth by cutting their roots and branches in the manner of *pen ching* (the Chinese bonsai), none of us will support it. However, if it implies the early development of a competence and a high regard for work excellence, there is no reason to concede Chinese socialism a monopoly of this possibility.

So far as the later stages of the education/work experience are concerned, we were told that in Shanghai there are now 12 hours of daily television time available, and that 8 or 9 of these hours are devoted to educational programs. Most of these constitute the nucleus of a relatively formal "television university" course of study. Students enroll in the course on the basis of competitive entrance examinations, and there are reportedly many more applicants than can be admitted. Those who enter will eventually graduate upon the satisfaction of apparently strict requirements, including further examinations. Most of those admitted to the course are given paid part-time leaves of absence from their jobs so that they can participate in the program.

We visited a variety of worker and agricultural "universities" and technical training schools, in all of which the students have had some considerable previous full-time work experience. We heard reports, too, of various types of correspondence courses that are being established.

It would be misleading to exaggerate the numerical significance of these adult education programs. The total enrollment cannot amount to more than a fraction of 1 percent of the vast population of the People's Republic, and some of the instruction appears pretty mediocre. It would be equally misleading to disregard the broad implications of this putative development in the education/work sequence. There is no assumption in the PRC that all formal education is to be taken at one long uninterrupted sitting or that all education should precede any serious employment. Perhaps principally under the pressure of circumstance but nevertheless on a reasoned basis, increasing provision is being made for educational opportunity for those who have already entered employment.

The situations in the United States and in the People's Republic are so different that few details of the adult education programs being developed there have direct relevance here. Nevertheless, I found new reminders of the extent to which we could move far ahead in developing further educational opportunities for those who have already entered the world of work. We are consciously trying to break out of the time trap that assigns education almost exclusively to youth and assumes a one-way sequence from learning to earning a living, and we can probably show the Chinese more refined examples than they showed us of adult education programs. The fact remains, however, that they are giving serious consideration, partly because they have no choice, to a *basic* reordering of the education/work sequence. It may well become the norm there to take 10 years or so of school, to move then into full-time employment for awhile, and then to return to another period of formal education. Careful watching is justified—perhaps particular consideration of whether the allocation of television time between education and vacuity in Shanghai is more or less rational than the allocation in Los Angeles and Chicago and New York.

In broadest terms, the value of the People's Republic experience for me lies in its suggestion that while the development of education/work policy in the United States should probably continue to be centered on improving the traditional bridges between youth and adulthood, there is a great deal that can be done on the roads stretching back behind and leading away from those bridges. Interrelating education and work makes the most sense only as part of an effort to improve the roadways through the entire human experience.

DANIEL YANKELOVICH

Excerpts from a conversation with Alan Pifer.

Access. My fear was that we were going to be exposed to a great deal of selectivity in what we were allowed to see in China. One extreme is the "Potemkin village" effect where you only see what your host wants you to see, carefully contrived and not at all typical of what the society is all about. The other extreme is where you have complete access and you can see anything you want, and you feel that the whole society is open to you. It was my feeling that neither extreme prevailed. Our greatest limitation was that we really did not see anything of rural China, and 80 percent of the country is rural. Even though we went to a few communes, they were on the outskirts of the cities.

Lessons for the United States. The differences between Chinese and American culture, circumstances, stages of development, and political and economic systems are so great that they make it just about impossible to transfer in any direct way what the Chinese are doing to the situation in the United States.

The primal fact about China is its need to feed 950 million people with far less arable land than we have and with agriculture at a relatively primitive stage compared with ours. That fact makes life so different that it is almost impossible to say of anything in China that we should copy it or follow it exactly.

Discipline and freedom. A question on everybody's mind was how the Chinese managed to preserve the discipline we saw everywhere. An even more fundamental question had to do with the absence of freedom as we know it, and what kind of a loss it is for people in China.

When we talk about freedom, we usually think of freedom in the political sense: freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom to vote the rascals out. What we saw in China was the absence of another kind of freedom that we take so much for granted in people's daily lives—the freedom to choose your own profession; the freedom to travel, to move around, to live where you want to live; the freedom to remain with your family if you want to or to leave it. We saw in China over and over again individuals who said that they had had a desire for a particular profession or life-plan, but when it was decided that "the people" in the state would be served better by their taking some other route—going to the commune rather than to the university, for example—they had to accept that. The question is, did they accept it without bitterness and in a positive way? If so, it is remarkable, and it raises the question of how important freedom really is for people, compared with other values. Does their society work at the cost of freedom, and what is that cost? I came to the conclusion that Chinese society does work, and that it works at the cost of freedom as we know it. But I came away without knowing how the Chinese feel about this.

Socialism and nationalism. On the question of socialism, I felt that idealism, particularly among the young people, is almost palpable. It is a force to be taken into account, but it often seems to cohere with the slogan, "Serve the People." It could be that the line between nationalism and socialism is blurred in people's minds. Nationalism was abundantly evident and adherence to certain of the slogans of socialism—to the idea of serving the people—was also clear. But whether that translates into endorsing all of the precepts of socialist doctrine and ideology is a question about which I remain agnostic. Socialism is a very complex set of doctrines and theories derived from the writings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao, among others. The Chinese have taken that complex body of thought and translated it into 25 or so slogans. Almost all of the slogans are vivid, concrete, and easy to remember—the Four Modernizations, the Three Contradictions, the Nine Categories, the Two Assessments—and the chances are that for the mass of people, that is what socialism is. Every week in every factory and in every village a time is set aside for political education. It is part of the function of political education to remind people of those slogans and their meaning so that they become part of the verbal law of the society. In that respect, there is a belief in socialism, if what we mean by socialism is not a body of abstract doctrine but a handful of slogans and whatever lies behind them at varying stages of sophistication.

Community and hierarchy. One frequently repeated slogan relates to building on the past—borrowing from the past for the purposes of the revolution. There is a notion of China as a communal society in which people feel a sense of automatic belongingness. Without conditions, a person is a part of some larger whole. Achieving that feeling of community, of not excluding anybody—however young, however old, however sick, however isolated—is one of the great strengths of China. It is compounded partly of tradition and partly of accomplishments since 1949.

For the sake of balance, it is also fundamental to point out some of the costs. Our society has made a conscious choice to sacrifice some elements of community for the sake of individualism and freedom and, oddly enough, equality. One of the surprises to me about China was how hierarchical it seems to be. We have been trained in the western political science tradition to recognize that the more liberty and freedom you have, the more difficult it is to achieve certain forms of equality. We know that the communist countries have deliberately sacrificed individual freedom, and I thought we might find more equality than we did. In all fairness, there are forms of equality that are much greater than they were in old China. Certainly, the near equality of women is one of the great achievements of the society. There has also, perhaps, been some increase in equality in the sense of eliminating the landlord class and other forms of exploitative structures. But with all of those qualifications, I got the impression of a very strong hierarchical system: that some comrades are more equal than other comrades, and that the notion of hierarchy and authority is very deeply engraved.

The crucial importance of authority and respect for authority deserves emphasis. Because of that respect, individuals are somewhat willing to sacrifice some of their individual freedom of choice. If authority were mistrusted, then the Chinese society would have to be held together through sheer naked power. All of us got the impression that that was not the case, that it was being held together by the assumption that authority was making decisions for the well-being of the community. In short, one sees on the one hand, the achievement of a sense of community, in the minimal sense that everyone can feel they belong automatically and that the society has made provisions for everyone, and on the other hand a loss of individual freedom, both in the political and social sense, and certain kinds of equality.

Elites. There appears to be an elite, a strong authority structure in China. However, the elite do not have enormous material privileges that one finds in other countries, communist or non-communist. There is a severity, conforming at least externally to one of Mao's slogans about living simply. The elite in China seem to have a priesthood effect: they show a willingness to make sacrifices, to forego special privileges of the material kind, in order to carry out their leadership role.

The history of China, as almost every other history, is replete with examples of "priesthoods" that start off with a certain purity and become increasingly corrupt. There is not only the corruption of power, which may or may not already exist and sometimes accompanies even the most morally pure priesthoods, but also material corruption where a privileged group feels that it can arrogate rewards to itself. In general, we had the impression that there are now no huge visible material rewards for being part of the elite, but human history prepares us to accept decay and decline in elitism when it is carried to the extent that it is in China.

One of the major purposes of the Cultural Revolution was precisely to cut off the strong trend of the sons and daughters of cadres to get into positions of power "through the back door." The idea that it can't happen there because of scientific socialism is given the lie by the fact that it did happen. Furthermore, it happened as a result of a series of policies that are now being reinstituted with great haste.

Modernization. The conflict between modernization and equality is no empty abstraction or theoretical academic issue but the most alive, vital, fundamental issue in China; and the failure to resolve the conflict has led to a certain amount of instability.

The enormous attraction of modernization comes from the fact that, to the extent that China is able to modernize, it is able to feed people and to give them some hope for improved material well-being in the future. Otherwise, we were told, you have "empty socialism"; people can't eat ideology. In modernizing, technological knowledge is required. A high level of organization is also required, as are skills that call for a high degree of education. These needs pull the country toward "educating for geniuses," toward rewarding the most capable people at the cost of equality. When we brought up this question of the tension between modernization and equality, we received a somewhat theoretical answer: According to Marxist dialectical theory, a creative tension exists between these two seeming contradictions, and a balance can be achieved. My impression is that China has not created that balance. Instead, it is caught in an incredible tug-of-war where it goes first to one extreme, as it did prior to the Cultural Revolution, then to the other extreme during the Cultural Revolution, and now back to the first extreme again in the counterrevolution. No one knows what will happen in the future, but it certainly does not seem to be a creative, well-balanced synthesis. The pendulum does not seem to be going back to the middle but to be swinging once again to the opposite extreme.

The Cultural Revolution. On the basis of what we saw, the diagnosis that Mao made before the Cultural Revolution seems to have a lot of merit. He thought that the society was reconstituting some of the worst elements of elitism in China's history and also that it was moving closer to the "horrible example" of the Soviet Union. However, where his diagnosis was correct, his solution was profoundly destabilizing. In a society where authority is what makes the world go 'round, the undermining of authority is terribly destructive. If you tell people that teachers who were to be revered and respected yesterday, and leaders who were to be obeyed and trusted yesterday, are today in the "ninth category of stinking intellectuals," that they are bureaucrats pursuing corrupt motives, you are sowing the seeds of mistrust and undermining authority in ways that must come back to haunt you in the future. There seems to be a feeling today that however accurate Mao's analysis and diagnosis was, the method by which the Cultural Revolution was pursued, particularly under the influence of the Gang of Four, was as destructive as it could be, resulting in the "10 lost years" and in the effort to "put on steam" to make up for that period.

My concern is that once again the Chinese may throw out the baby with the bathwater. The Cultural Revolution was addressed to curbing certain abuses. Are they not reinstituting those abuses by returning to an "educating for geniuses" program, by reconstituting national examinations where 6 million applicants take the exam for only 200,000 places in the university? What happens to the other 5,800,000?

What makes China work? Visiting China, one expects to find in the great social experiment of the twentieth century something new. But one of my most vivid impressions is that things are rather old-fashioned, from an American point of view. The tone in the schools and in the society suggests McGuffey's nineteenth century reader more than it does the twentieth or twenty-first century. The words may be the words of Marx and Lenin, but the music is that of simple, fundamental moral values. The cohesiveness of Chinese society derives from all of the factors in the society that are working to stimulate and reinforce a set of very familiar, old-fashioned moral ideals relating to hard work, patriotism, loyalty, subordination of self to others, social conformity, love of family, dedication, respect for education, putting duty before pleasure, sexual restraint and repression—a general kind of puritanism—saving for the future, and concepts of social justice and social fairness, in addition to respect for authority, idealism and nationalism.

We know how powerful these ideals are because they worked for us. The only fundamental value that seems to be missing is that of religion, and some of us felt we were witnessing the beginnings of a secular religion built around Chairman Mao.

Political leadership. All of us were impressed by the extent to which China is an organized society—from the block in the village or in the commune up through the district, province, region, and the country.

The picture we got of the communication pattern operating in this society is that in every institution, factory, and school, a certain amount of time is set aside each week partly during the work day and partly in the evening, for political education meetings. Attendance seems obligatory, and the meetings are for the purpose of translating the party line and showing how it applies to specific situations that confront society.

It is important to remember that China is a society virtually without lawyers. The system of adjudication is clearly not a legal system; it is a system of applying a general principle provided in the party line to the specific situation. What is written are the speeches and statements by top party officials, which, along with constant discussions and education and reeducation meetings, help apply these principles to specific situations.

When we asked how the Gang of Four seized power, the answer was always that they had seized the media of communication. If the party line is handed down via a very simple mechanism of communication—namely through the party network of personal meetings supplemented by newspapers, key publications, and radio—one can see how having control over the means of communication would be tantamount to having control over the political life of the nation.

Education and work. Given the problematic relationship between education and work in the United States, I was unprepared for the "educational magic," or the mystique of education in its pure form in China. For example, in the semiconductor factory we visited in Shanghai, we were told about a middle school graduate with rudimentary engineering training who had come into the factory and almost immediately had effectuated a dramatic increase in productivity for the women who ran the factory. This factory was started by women—formerly housewives—and for them, this was proof positive of the power of education. On one day the production and quality of output of the factory was a certain level, and virtually the day after this educated person entered the scene both production and quality were improved.

The old Chinese tradition of respect for education is being reinforced by the new production-oriented communist approach to modernization. Pragmatic education that gets immediate practical results reinforces the almost mystical feeling that people have about the power of education and its direct relevance to work. I think that is one of the factors causing China to move at the moment, despite all of its problems, on an upward trajectory.

The nation has a task to perform, as articulated by the party in the form of the Four Modernizations. That task is to be done for the country, but at the same time the individual can benefit from it in a form that we Americans can understand very clearly—namely, through material rewards and through "bettering oneself" in the form of more education and more "culture." A higher standard of living coupled with intellectual improvement is a very powerful combination of incentives when taken together with the kinds of moral values that are emphasized in China. The work and education part of Chinese activity cannot really be understood except in this larger context.

Assessment of the Chinese education system. I noticed several strengths in the Chinese education system. First is their dedication to the goal of universalizing education at the primary school and at the lower middle school levels, and the extent to which they have accomplished it. Second, their dedication to children and to child care was most impressive—probably the most attractive part of the country in fact. With all the uniformity of that society, you could not talk to a Chinese person for more than a couple of minutes without feeling a strong sense of individuality. Even though they do not share our tradition of individualism, people are sharply differentiated from one another. As a psychologist, I can only attribute that to their child-rearing practices and the importance that children have. We could see with our own eyes that these individuals were respected and nurtured from a very early age and were encouraged to develop their gifts.

One other positive feature was their innovative thinking about the forms and delivery of higher education. They are now experimenting with bringing education to the workers and to the farmers and perfecting correspondence schools, use of radio, use of television, and various work-study programs, and one can't help but think it's a very fruitful and productive thing to do.

A couple of the aspects of education appear more disturbing and less positive. There does not seem to be any relationship between moral/political education and practical technical education. Moral education tends toward the political and technical education toward preparation for work. The latter is rather pragmatic, narrow, and uncritical: a higher authority passes on lessons that are then learned by rote by an uncritical group. It seems to me that this fosters a mystique of education in a country that has suffered from a mystique of education in the past.

International politics. I was disturbed in our last few days in Peking by the Chinese *realpolitik* attitude. Their policy is one of defense of Cambodia aginst Vietnam, even though Cambodia represents precisely what they condemn about the Gang of Four. All of the doctrinaire ideological beliefs that they say they deplore seem to be coming to horrible fruition in Cambodia. Yet, despite all of their animosity toward the Gang of Four, they feel that they can embrace the Cambodians without reservation or qualification.

I find the scapegoatism a potentially frightening tendency. The internal scapegoat is now the Gang of Four; the external is the Soviet Union. That there is a tendency to lay the blame for all the bad things in a symbolic fashion on a few convenient villains is a troublesome attitude for the future.

One of the most perplexing and fascinating questions concerns the depth of Chinese animosity toward the Soviet Union. I have reviewed the political reasons for it, and these do not account for its intensity. It is something that I think we should try to understand better, because a rapprochement between China and the United States seems to be in the cards for the future. If that is going to happen, it is imperative that we understand more about his new ally and friend. There is a strange mix of powerful, effective, attractive innovation and at the same time some rather chilling and frightening aspects of the emerging new China.

3. Background Paper: Education in China

by John Shea

China's current educational policy is best understood against the background of developments from 1949 to 1965, and from 1966 to the present. In addition to rapid expansion in student enrollment, the period preceding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) witnessed (1) widespread adoption of Soviet forms and methods (especially during the First Five-Year Plan, 1953-57); (2) the development (after 1957) of half-work, half-study schools, especially in rural areas;[1] and (3) implementation (after 1957) of the idea that education "be combined with productive labor."

Reforms of the Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that began in 1966 ushered in a series of reforms on the educational front:

1. Reduction in the length of schooling at all levels. Primary, middle school, and higher education had each been six years in length. Primary and middle school were reduced to five years by dropping studies of less apparent usefulness and consolidating other material. Higher education was reduced to anywhere from two and one-half to three and one-half years, depending on the subject.
2. Graduate studies were disbanded, and research was deemphasized in the universities. Research and training of research personnel was maintained only in key scientific research centers (for example in nuclear physics) outside higher education.
3. Expansion of the "open-door approach" to schooling. Workers, peasants, and soldiers came into the classrooms to teach, and students spent time working in factories and on farms, learning from workers and peasants.
4. Increased emphasis on political studies and political work. The Red Guards, responding to Mao's call to "make revolution," traveled about the country with their "little red books" in hand. The immediate campaign was against Liu Shao-chi and his "revisionist line." Later campaigns focused on Lin Piao and Confucius, among others.
5. An effort to build a collegial (non-authoritarian) working relationship between students and teachers. Emphasis was placed on discussion, "open-book" examinations, and self-monitoring of student progress in place of lectures, rote learning, surprise examinations, and similar practices.
6. Abolition of immediate entrance to higher education from senior middle school via examinations and modification of enrollment criteria and procedures. Instead of immediate transition from secondary to higher education, applicants were to have had at least two years of work experience. In place of near-exclusive reliance (in regular colleges and universities) on graudation from senior middle school and tests of mental ability, enrollment was to be based on moral and political attributes, social-class background, and judgments of fellow workers and peasants. Graduation from senior middle school was no longer to be required, and preference was to go to children of workers and peasants and to members of the PLA.

NOTE: This section of the report relies heavily on the work of Suzanne Pepper (1978), to whom we are especially grateful, as well as on information obtained by the study group.

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[1] In what became known as his "July 30th Directive," Mao Tse-tung wrote in 1961 to the Kiangsi Communist Labor University praising its part-work, part-study school, which at that time was essentially self-supporting. He called on other organizations to emulate the general approach, with subject matter responsive to the distinctive needs of each sector of the economy. (See *Peking Review*, August 12, 1977, pp. 3-4, 40-41.) The postsecondary component of this "university" was the predecessor school to the current May 7 agricultural colleges.

7. Abolition of a two-track system of "key" schools and ordinary and spare-time schools. Instead of privileged students being recruited and selected into a few distinguished institutions at all levels, leading with regularity to college or university, all (or nearly all) pupils would attend more egalitarian schools in their own neighborhoods.
8. Policy direction of schools and colleges was placed in the hands of "three-in-one revolutionary committees," comprised of representatives of the young, middle-aged, and old as well as cadres, technicians, and rank-and-file workers. In schools, this meant representatives of administrators, teachers, and students rather than party officials and school administrators.

Beyond these reforms, the GPCR witnessed other important developments in education. Spare-time programs received a boost from reforms on the health front (training of "barefoot doctors," promotion of traditional Chinese medicine), and—as discussed later in this section—from Mao's directives of May 7, 1966, and July 21, 1968. Following several years of experimentation on a smaller scale, a major program was launched in 1968 to send middle school graduates "up to the mountain and down to the countryside" to learn from the peasants and to assist in rural development. Under this program, more than 16 million "educated youth" (that is, graduates of junior and senior middle school) have been sent to settle in rural areas. Of the 16 million, an estimated 6 million have left agricultural work in the countryside (1) to attend technical schools or universities, (2) to work in factories, or (3) for other reasons such as being needed by parents at home or "illegally" moving to the city.

The Post-Cultural-Revolution Period

Colleges, universities, and many other schools were closed—at least temporarily—at the beginning of the GPCR. Middle schools began to reopen in 1967, but it took later intervention by the PLA to end chaos in some areas. Most institutions of higher education went through a rectification period before reopening in 1971 or later; some have never reopened.

In 1972, Chou En-lai is reported to have proposed direct admission of selected senior middle school graduates to institutions of higher education on the grounds that the country had a pressing need for research personnel. Some colleges and universities reinstituted examinations. This practice, however, was quickly attacked in the press, which was largely controlled by the faction known as the Gang of Four. The reintroduction of entrance examinations was viewed as "restoration of the old order." A young man named Chang Tieh-sheng was reported in the press to have turned in a blank examination paper in 1973, on which he had expressed highly critical remarks, emphasizing his belief that hard work and political orientation should take precedence over an examination of academic aptitude. The gang intervened and he was admitted to an agricultural college of his choice. Chinese officials now say that Mr. Chang wrote a very poor examination, and that support of his application by the four "made a lot of young people think there was no use studying" (*China Reconstructs,* April 1978, p. 2).

Premier Chou En-lai died in January 1976. When the Nixons visited China in February, then acting Premier Hua Kuo-feng said in his toast: "In China, a revolutionary mass debate is going on in such circles as education, science, and technology. It is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (*Peking Review,* February 29, 1976, p. 5).

Mao Tse-tung died in September 1976. A month later, Hua Kuo-geng was named Chairman of the CCP and moved swiftly to purge the Gang of Four. The "Great Debate in Education" began to evaporate. Chairman Hua stressed the need for a period of stability and unity, with careful attention to the Four Modernizations of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology by the end of the century—a task outlined by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai in the early 1960s. The Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party met in August 1977, and, among other things, called for a major overhaul of the educational system. Two months later, in October 1977, new procedures to govern admissions to higher education were announced.

Policy Directions Since Ouster of the Gang of Four

Several significant policy changes are under way in the field of education. The consequences of the GPCR are being reexamined by the Chinese leadership, and in the eight areas outlined above, modifications in policy may be summarized as follows:

1. With respect to the length of schooling, the 5-5 primary and middle school combination (instead of 6-6) is expected to remain, but colleges and universities have apparently been given the go-ahead to lengthen their undergraduate programs somewhat from about three years to four or four and one-half years. Plans have been drawn to enroll graduate (research) students, and research in the universities is being strengthened. The goals of the CCP and the government for the present 10-year planning period (1976-1985) are: universal senior middle school in the cities and universal junior middle school in rural areas.
2. Plans have been drawn to enroll graduate (research) students in universities, and scientific research is being reinstated as an important part of the mission of higher education.
3. The "open-door approach" to schooling is being deemphasized. Achievement of the Four Modernizations is said to call for renewed emphasis on intellectual development, basic studies, and theoretical work in the sciences. However, China's cardinal principal of education—that "education should serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor" (Mao Tse-tung, 1958)—requires joining schooling with work. "Productive labor" in some form will doubtless continue, but the amount is likely to diminish and the nature of the work to change.
4. Political (or ideological) training will continue, but there almost surely will be less emphasis on participation in political campaigns outside the classroom. Two countervailing pressures are at work: On the one hand, many present-day leaders in China argue that students have spent too much time in recent years on general political campaigns (for example, criticizing Lin Piao), and that the time spent often came at the expense of study. On the other hand, the elite nature of higher education and a return to emphasis on book learning and academic excellence heighten the need for moral training, so that those with a high level of education use their skills to "serve the people" and avoid conceit and self-indulgence.
5. On the matter of close working relationships of teachers and students, recent reports from China seem to indicate a desire to maintain reforms of the GPCR. Students will be encouraged to study hard, and discipline will be imposed, but formalism, "trick questions," "pop quizzes," and similar practices will likely be avoided.
6. Perhaps the most controversial and far-reaching shifts in policy involve the university enrollment system. Entrance examinations to higher education (and to middle schools, if there are more applicants than places) have been reintroduced, and this year a set of unified national examinations have been given. (The key changes in admissions policy and practices are discussed later in this section.)
7. Official statements regarding the designation of "keypoint" schools and colleges recognize the existence of a "dual system" of schools—full-time study at selected, high-quality ("keypoint") schools at all levels, alongside ordinary schools and colleges, half-work, half-study, and other spare-time institutions. The "keypoint" and other institutions are considered important for different reasons: "Keypoint" schools identify and develop talent needed to achieve the Four Modernizations and to encourage study and effort more generally; other institutions open opportunity to move people and help meet pressing immediate needs of society.
8. Regarding political-administrative structures, a decision was made shortly before our visit to replace revolutionary committees at the institution or school level and to return to more traditional administrative arrangements—with presidents, principals, and directors in charge of schools and colleges.

Finally, a word about "sent-down" youth. There is little question that China's Office of Youth Affairs, under the State Council, will continue to operate the program of sending "educated youth" to the countryside. College entrants will be selected from among applicants with work experience in factories or the countryside, except for about 30 percent who will come directly from senior middle-school. The possibility of later entrance to college no doubt makes the sent-down youth program more palatable to participants than it otherwise would be. Spare-time education—including correspondence and television instruction—is being promoted in part as a response to the needs and desires of sent-down youth to have a chance to go to college.

Entrance Examinations

One of the most far-reaching shifts in policy is the change in college entrance procedures. A recent article in *China Reconstructs* (April 1978) reports on an interview with a Ministry of Education official about reforms now under way in this area, which may be summarized as follows. First, stated criteria for admission to higher education will continue to be moral, intellectual, and physical qualifications, including appraisals given by people at the applicant's place of work, but renewed emphasis is to be given to knowledge or academic aptitude. Second, rather than select all (or nearly all) candidates from middle school graduates under the age of 25 who have worked at least two years in the countryside or in a factory, two additional pools of acceptable candidates have been identified: (1) those up to 30 years old with special skills or good job experience, preferably senior middle school graduates of 1966 and 1967 (when universities were closed); and (2) students now in senior middle school who have performed exceptionally well in their studies and are recommended by their school. The intention last December, when provincial examinations were given to 5.7 million young men and women, was apparently to take approximately 20 to 30 percent of last year's 278,000 college entrants directly from senior middle school. This percentage is expected to increase gradually over the next few years. Finally, whether a young person meets the intellectual criterion is to be determined by examinations covering general and specialized areas of knowledge and skill. Within the latter category, a candidate may take either a written (for example, in chemistry or physics) or performance (for example, piano) examination, depending on the specialty for which he or she applies.

The Study Group often asked about the university enrollment system, since despite efforts of the press to explain the changes, several matters remain unclear. For example, how will candidates be ranked when they "score" high on one or more criteria but low on others? A quotation from the article in *China Reconstructs* (April 1978, p. 8) illustrates the problem: "When applicants proved equal in political and physical qualifications, preference was given to those who did best in the entrance examination .... In the current admittance program, where applicants are equal in their political, intellectual, and physical qualifications, preference is given to workers and peasants, children of worker and peasant families, and school graduates who have already settled in the countryside."

In her recent article, Suzanne Pepper (1978, p. 48) quotes a dispatch from Kwangchow (Canton) to the effect that political and physical tests were undertaken only for those who passed the written entrance examination. Provincial enrollment committees apparently approve selections made by individual schools from among a set of candidates approximately double the ultimate number to be enrolled.

Several exceptions or special circumstances are officially recognized in the new university enrollment regulations. Special consideration is to be given to national minorities, overseas Chinese, and selected occupational groups. Within the latter category, the Ministry of Education representative said: "Agricultural, medical, and teachers' institutes (are to) give priority to activists in agro-science, barefoot doctors and rural school teachers" (*China Reconstructs*, April 1978, p. 8).

Education in China: An Overview

In urban areas, perhaps one-half or more of the children under the age of seven spend a portion of the day in nurseries, child-care centers, or kindergartens.[2] Residential (or street) committees operate nurseries, as do large factories and other enterprises.[3] Staff at the district level of municipalities oversee kindergartens in neighborhoods. Other kindergartens are operated by factories and similar work units. Communes, production brigades, and production teams organize child-care centers (including kindergartens) in rural areas.[4] In both cities and the countryside, many grandparents or other relatives supervise children in the home.

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[2] In Kwangchow (Canton), the leadership of the Kindergarten of Yen-Teng Road, which the Study Group visited, estimated that 70 percent of the children of kindergarten age (3 to 6) in their area attended some kind of kindergarten. See Section 4 of this report, pages 4-18 to 4-23.

[3] Municipalities (at least large ones) are divided into districts, which in turn are divided into "neighborhoods" (40,000 to 70,000 people) governed by neighborhood committees. Within each neighborhood are several residential (or street) committees (1,000 to 8,000 people). The lowest unit in the urban chain of command is the "small group," typically composed of 15 to 40 households (50 to 150 people).

The schooling system (beyond kindergarten). Prior to 1966 and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, primary school and middle school were six years each in length, and undergraduate higher education was four to six years. As in the United States, secondary education (that is, middle schooling) was divided into three years at a junior level and three at a senior level. A student would enter the first grade at age 7, and if normal progress were made, he (or she) could expect to complete primary school at 13, middle school at 19, and college or university at 23 to 25 years of age.

Reforms introduced during the GPCR shortened primary and middle school to five years each, and higher education (typically) to two and one-half to three and one-half years. Today, the usual pattern in secondary education is three years of junior middle school followed by two years of senior, with both levels offered on the same campus. For reasons of space and convenience, however, one sometimes finds junior middle school classes added to primary schools. Communes often find it convenient to add junior middle school classes at centrally located primary schools because middle school attendance, especially at the senior level, is still relatively rare in rural areas. At San-Lin People's Commune, just outside Shanghai (see Section 4), we encountered a middle school with 1,780 students at the junior level and only 120 at the senior level. We found two junior middle school classes at a primary school in Nanking. This school had extra space, and rapid growth in secondary education throughout the city made such an arrangement expedient. (See Section 4 for description of these sites.)

Most middle schools offer a standard, undifferentiated curriculum. The program of studies typically includes Chinese language, general knowledge, politics, mathematics, a foreign language, world geography, science (e.g., physics and chemistry), fine arts, physical education, and productive labor. Only 2 percent of secondary students attend vocational or technical middle schools. The former are operated by factories or other large enterprises, such as railroads, and their purpose is to train skilled manual workers. The latter serve various bureaus, commercial departments, and other enterprises and develop clerical, semiprofessional, or technical workers. In both cases, graduates are assigned to particular occupations, such as bookkeeping, or to branches of industry, such as machine tool operation, or electric power.

Education beyond the middle school can usefully be subdivided into (1) conventional or unconventional and (2) rural or urban. Since in rural areas completion of senior middle school is still relatively uncommon, it should come as no surprise that nearly all forms of postsecondary education in the countryside are new or "unconventional," that is, something other than the kind of college, university, or professional school that existed in China prior to Liberation (1949).[5]

In urban areas, much of higher education is conventional (traditional) in form: comprehensive universities with programs in arts and science or in science and engineering; universities and higher schools of technical and engineering sciences; and schools and colleges with other specialized purposes (for example, medicine, foreign language, or teacher training). Within this third category are at least nine institutes for national minorities specializing in the development of cadres—a type of higher education pioneered in Yenan prior to Liberation in 1949. (See account of visit to Central Institute of Nationalities in Peking on May 10 in Section 4.)

Several new forms of postsecondary education have emerged in urban areas since 1949. In part, they reflect the advent of television and the emphasis given to "half-work, half-study" schools since 1958. Foremost among the "new institutions" are (1) July 21 workers' universities, which are factory-operated programs designed to develop technicians (junior engineers) from among experienced workers; (2) television universities (at least two, one in Peking and one in Shanghai); and (3) a variety of spare-time universities and colleges operated by municipalities, districts, and departments or production bureaus. Several established universities offer courses by correspondence. Radio is also used, especially in the teaching of English and other foreign languages. Apprenticeship and on-the-job learning are common. Libraries and worker's cultural palaces provide opportunities for self-study and small classes. Finally, neighborhood and residential committees organize various kinds of spare-time instruction in literacy, current events, general education, health, and family planning.

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[4] People's communes are units of production and government in suburban and rural areas. Commune leaders, reporting to county officials, typically oversee a population of 10,000 to 15,000. (Some communes have as many as 50,000 people.) A commune generally includes 10 to 15 production brigades. Under each brigade are several production teams (30 to 50 households, on the average).

[5] In China, conditions or events are often referred to as pre-Liberation or post-Liberation with 1949 as the demarkation. We follow this convention and language throughout the report.

Only in recent years has postsecondary education been available on any scale in rural areas. Provinces, prefectures, counties, and communes have established and operate a number of programs in a variety of rural settings. One emulation model is the Communist Labor University of Kiangsi, which was praised in a letter from Mao Tse-tung on July 30, 1961, for its self-reliance and "half-work, half-study" form. Today, the principal task in rural education for adults is to train "barefoot doctors" and related paramedics, agro-technicians, and rural school teachers. The most commonly used name for institutions offering such programs is "May 7th (agricultural) college," because they reflect the philosophy and approach outlined in Chairman Mao's directive on education of May 7, 1966. We visited one such institution outside Nanking. The May 7th Agricultural College of Chiang-ning County offers two- to three-year courses for agricultural specialists, as well as shorter courses for agricultural workers, "barefoot doctors," and rural school teachers. May 7th cadre schools for the in-service training of officials, accompanied by physical labor, are another innovation of the GPCR—but one which may have been deemphasized with the ouster of the Gang of Four. These schools also tend to be located in rural areas. As in the city, a variety of forms of self-study and spare-time education are organized by communes, production brigades, and production teams. Finally, correspondence courses are popular with young people in the countryside who wish to qualify for admission to traditional institutions of higher education. (At least two of the urban youth we interviewed in a production brigade outside Nanking were taking correspondence courses.)

Schools and enrollments. According to recent reports and briefings we received, nearly all children from ages 7 to 12 in China are enrolled in school. For the most part, those not in school live in rural areas, isolated communities, or are handicapped. In the summer of 1977, Suzanne Pepper (1978) was told by a Ministry of Education official that there were about 150 million pupils in primary school, the same number reported in the Spring of 1976 and again in May of this year.[6] Figure 3.1 presents a comparison of school populations in China and the United States.

The number of students in middle school is large and expanding rapidly. In the Spring of 1976, enrollment was estimated to be 45 million. Pepper was given a figure of 60 million a year later. We were told enrollment was 70 million in May of 1978, and technical middle school enrollment was placed at 800,000 in 2,500 institutions.[7] In a category not mentioned in Pepper's briefing, we were told that another 300,000 students are enrolled in an estimated 1,200 enterprise-run vocational schools supervised by the Labor Bureau under the State Council.[8]

Traditional higher education in China enrolls very few students. Total enrollment of regular, full-time students is said to be approximately 600,000, a number considerably above the estimated number in 1949 (100,000 to 150,000) but still below the approximately 800,000 enrolled on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. The United States, with one-fourth the population, enrolls 15 times as many students in higher education. (Since practically all college students in China attend college full-time, the comparison is made with full-time-equivalent enrollment in the United States.)

On March 5, 1978, 88 institutions of higher education were designated national "keypoint" institutions, to be supervised directly by the central government, to receive national funding, and to have above-average staff and facilities. These 88 institutions may enroll one-third or more of the students in traditional institutions of higher education, on the assumption that average enrollment in

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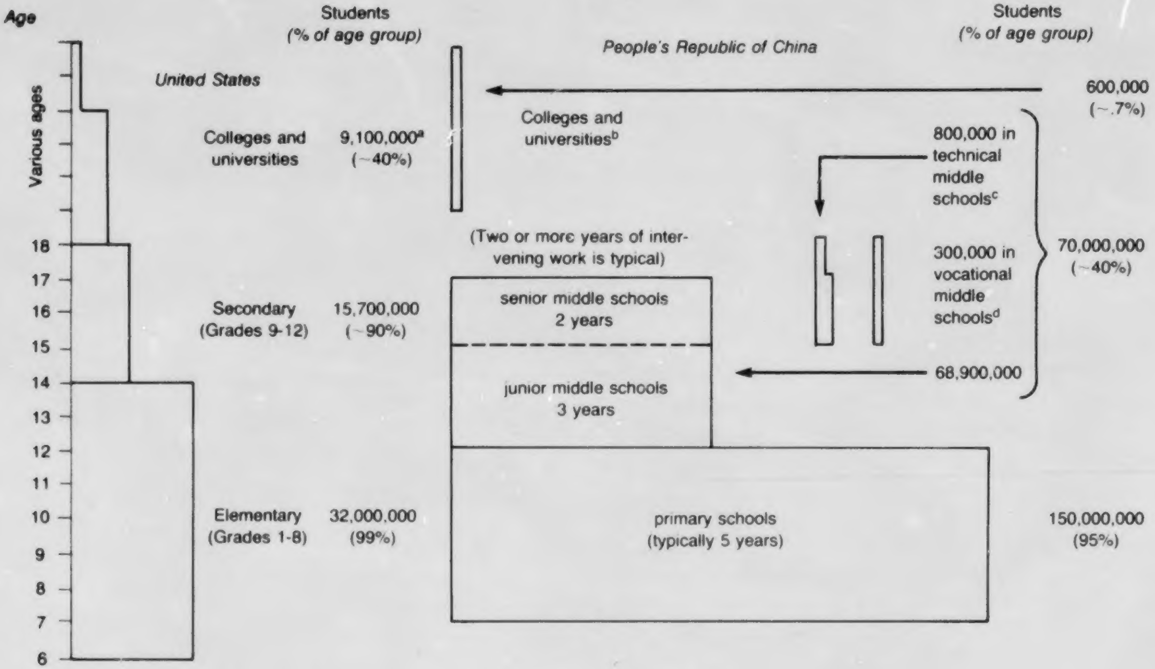
[6] Letter to Clark Kerr from Robert Leestma, Associate Commissioner for Institutional Development and International Education, U.S. Office of Education, May 11, 1978.

[7] Based on an interview of a Ministry of Education official in 1977, Pepper (1978) reports identical enrollment of 800,000 in 2,200 institutions.

[8] The State Council, the highest administrative organ of government, consists of the premier (Hua Kuo-feng) and thirteen vice premiers. The State Council oversees several commissions and the ministries.

Figure 3.1 Comparison of estimated enrollment in primary, secondary, and traditional higher education between the United States and the People's Republic of China, 1977



[a] Full-time-equivalent enrollment.

[b] Excludes May 7th agricultural colleges and cadre schools, July 21st workers' and spare-time universities and other nontraditional forms of postsecondary education.

[c] Includes technical schools in industry, agriculture, and similar occupations or sectors of economic activity.

[d] Enterprise-run schools to train skilled manual workers.

Sources: U.S. National Center for Education Statistics, *Projections of Education Statistics to 1985-86* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1977), pp. 14, 20, and China statistics from the Study Group.

Note: Chinese technical and vocational schools are drawn wider than scale. Otherwise, ½ inch width equals 30 million students.

"keypoint" institutions is over 2,000—approximately double the average size of all institutions of higher education in China. Twenty national "keypoint" primary and middle schools were designated on January 25, 1978, but it is virtually impossible to estimate total enrollment in "keypoint" institutions below college, because most of them enjoy "keypoint" status under a province or municipality rather than by designation of the central government.

Colleges and universities in China operate laboratories and research institutes, but nearly all highly specialized education and training of research workers (for example, graduate students) has taken place outside of higher education in recent years. This was not always the case, but although colleges and universities now enroll three-fourths as many students as they had before the GPCR, few are graduate students. There are at least 100 research institutes in China, and there may be considerably more depending on how broadly a "research institute" is defined. A recent report by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (1977) lists 36 research institutes under the direction of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1975, and 48 more that apparently had been transferred to the control of the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry, Public Health, and National Defense. As with many other kinds of units, research institutes are organized at all levels. While some operate directly under national bodies, others are under provincial authorities, counties (*hsien*), or even lower levels. Examples include a research institute on rubber in Kweilin, the Hupeh Institute of Hydrobiology, the Kumming Research Institute of Tropical Plants, and the Grinding Lathe Research Institute of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant No. 1.

Only crude estimates of the numbers of institutions and enrollments in the various non-traditional forms of postsecondary education are available. Almost surely, the number of students (even ignoring housewives, workers, and peasants in short courses) is greater than the number presently enrolled in traditional higher education. We had to press hard at our briefing by Ministry of Education officials on May 10 for even a crude "guesstimate," and we were told that 2,000 or more July 21st workers' universities and over 4,000 May 7th agricultural colleges probably enroll more than 600,000 students altogether. How many more is difficult to determine. In the summer of 1977, Pepper (1978) was given higher figures: 780,000 enrolled in July 21st universities and 1,000,000 in May 7th (agricultural) schools. In a briefing by Education Bureau representatives in Shanghai on May 1, 1978, we were told that 22 regular colleges and universities within Shanghai enrolled 36,000 students, a number only slightly larger than the combined total enrolled in Shanghai Television University and correspondence programs (12,000) and in July 21st workers' universities, the Shanghai Workers' Spare-time University, and spare-time technical schools and colleges operated by the municipality's nine districts (20,000 combined). We were told that in all there are some 600 institutions devoted to the education of workers. The full-time-equivalent enrollments in these "nontraditional" programs amounted to about one-quarter of traditional enrollments.

To put these developments in perspective, a chronology of major political and educational events of the post-revolutionary period in China may be helpful.

Chronology of Major Events in China, 1949 to October 1976

Postwar reconstruction and land reform

1. Mao Tse-tung proclaims founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC).
2. Restoration of peace, national unity, and political order.
3. Land reform
4. Five-Anti Campaign against tax evasion, bribery, cheating on government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property.
5. Three-Anti Campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy.

First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957)

1. Nationalization of private enterprise and development of producer cooperatives, especially in the countryside.
2. Adoption of Soviet economic development model, with (a) heavy emphasis on capital-intensive projects in basic industry; (b) bureaucratic leadership and central planning; and (c) use of incentives (piece rates, bonuses, and so on)
3. Soviet-style educational system implemented with (a) training of teachers in USSR, (b) translation of Soviet textbooks, (c) emphasis on science and engineering in technical institutes and universities.
4. Major public health campaigns launched.
5. Mao issues statement "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom" (1956).
6. Mao speaks "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (1957).
7. Anti-rightest rectification campaign launched against critics of the CCP (1957).

Great Leap Forward (1958-1960)

1. Mao announces Great Leap Forward, designed to achieve total mobilization of China's labor force (1958).
2. Mao announces policy to establish rural communes (1958).
3. "Half-work, half-study" schools advocated, in an effort to increase access to education and to keep the costs of schooling down.
4. Mao resigns as Chairman of the PRC, yielding to Liu Shao-chi (1958).
5. Lin Piao named national defense minister (1959).
6. Denigration of bureaucrats, specialists, and professionals; assertion that it is more important to be "red" than to be "expert."
7. Self-reliance and revolutionary egalitarianism emphasized; material incentives cut back.
8. Soviet technicians are withdrawn from China (1960).

Depression, readjustment, and recovery (1961-1965)

1. Dislocations in production; crisis in agriculture with three years of bad weather (1959-1961).
2. Emphasis in national development shifts to agriculture and to a pragmatic approach to production.
3. Enrollments in rural schools drop as teachers resist the "dual track" system of full-time and part-time schooling and as all available manpower is used to recover from the agricultural crisis.
4. The Socialist Education Campaign, a nationwide, three-year effort in emulation of the People's Liberation Party (PLA) and in class struggle, begins (1963).
5. Experimentation in the training and use of "barefoot doctors" takes place near Shanghai.
6. Mao criticizes "revisionism" and calls for the Chinese people to engage in the "three great revolutionary movements" of class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiment (1965).
7. Wu Han criticized, signalling the beginning of the Cultural Revolution (1965).

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1969)

1. Mao supports the rebellious student Red Guards and writes his own "big character poster" entitled "Bombard the Headquarters."
2. On May 7, Mao issues a directive on educational work, including shortening the period of schooling, the "open-door approach," reeducating cadres, and so forth (1966).
3. All university instruction is suspended (1966).
4. Mao reviews millions of Red Guards who have traveled from all parts of China to Peking (1966).
5. Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping demoted (1966).
6. Mobile health teams organized to train and support health workers in rural areas.
7. Mao announces that revolutionary "three-in-one committees" should seize power from the bureaucracy and officials at all levels (1967).
8. Mao calls for reopening of schools (1967).
9. Mao meets with major Red Guard student leaders to urge them to end factionalism and fighting and to reopen schools (1968).
10. On July 21, Mao directs attention to the Worker's University at Shanghai Machine Tool Factory No. 1 and calls for emulation of this effort to train technicians and engineers from the ranks (1968).
11. Most schools, except for higher education, reopen (1967-1968).
12. Mao issues his directive on sending educated young people to the countryside (1968).
13. Mao issues several short new directives on reeducating cadres (1969).

Post-Cultural-Revolution to the overthrow of the Gang of Four (1970-1976)

1. Lin Piao attempts to seize power at Lu Shan; is reported to have died in airplane crash over Outer Mongolia (1970-1971).
2. Reemergence of moderate economic programs and large-scale purchases of foreign plants and technology.
3. Institutions of higher education begin to reopen in 1970; many do not open until later, some not at all.
4. Campaign against Confucius and Lin Piao (1973-1974).
5. Fourth National People's Congress adopts new constitution and an ambitious long-term development and modernization program to put China's economy "in the front ranks of the world" by the year 2000 (1975).

6. Premier Chou En-lai dies (January 1976); Hua Kuo-feng designated Acting Premier; Teng Hsiao-ping becomes object of a new anti-rightist campaign.
7. Mao Tse-tung dies (September 1976); Premier Hua appointed Chairman of the CCP (September 1976).
8. Gang of Four arrested (October 1976).

Glossary*

Any mass movement—political, social, or religious—generates its own special vocabulary. Not only are new phrases and slogans invented, but common words are given new meanings. In our own history we have many "heightened phrases"—sets of words that, in a special context, carry more than their ordinary meaning. "Due process," "separate but equal," "Fourth of July," and "fireside chat," for example, all convey more to us than they do to someone from another country.

Until recent strides in literacy, China has been an oral culture. Therefore, its revolutionary leaders have relied to an extraordinary extent upon slogans, both to convey information and to generate support and enthusiasm for policies. Some of the special words, heightened phrases, and revolutionary slogans that are commonly encountered in China are briefly defined here. A set of frequently used abbreviations follows.

Barefoot Doctors Paramedical personnel who, after a short period of medical training, provide limited medical services to fellow workers and families. Barefoot doctors typically work alongside peasants or factory workers. Those who work in urban areas are typically called Red Medical Workers. The first "barefoot" doctors were recruited from among peasants who worked barefooted in the rice fields near Shanghai.

Cadre Any person who plays a leading political or administrative role in factories, communes, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), government, schools, or organizations such as labor unions or professional associations. Occasionally the term is used to refer to all white-collar, nonmanual workers.

Children's Palace An after-school center typically serving a district of a city. Some children's palaces are located in former villas. Activities typically include gymnastics; play-acting; badminton and ping-pong; the making of props for performances at local schools; music; arts and crafts; and the like.

Commune A unit of government as well as of production in rural areas. A commune (or people's commune) typically includes several production brigades and embraces 10,000 to 15,000 persons. (Some communes have more than 50,000 persons.)

Communist Labor University (of Diangsi) A model educational institution praised by Mao Tse-tung in a letter of July 30, 1961 to the University's leadership. This model was praised for its self-reliance, curricular emphasis on practical agricultural problems, and service to peasants.

Contradictions See *On the Ten Major Relationships*.

Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius A recent (1972) campaign of criticism of former Defense Minister Lin Piao and of Confucius. Both Lin and Confucius were denounced as revisionists. Lin was accused of distorting Mao's thought while following a Soviet revisionist approach. In 1971, Lin disappeared; he is said to have died in a plane crash while fleeing to the Soviet Union, having failed in an attempted coup against Mao. Confucius, the most famous traditional Chinese philosopher (fifth century B.C.), was denounced as one who tried to bring back the slave-owning class and wished to restore the old oppressive society in his time. In 1978, criticism of Confucius became more selective; he has been partially "rehabilitated."

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*This section is based, in part, on a briefing packet prepared by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

Cultural Palace An after-work activity center for workers and their families. Facilities are provided for exhibitions, art, music, reading, games, indoor sports, and the like.

Cultural Revolution A period (1966-1969 or longer) of mass mobilization and turmoil led by Mao to: (1) rid the country of revisionism by removing opponents in the party structure (the most prominent being Liu Shao-chi and his "revisionist faction"); (2) rekindle revolutionary fervor by educating the younger generation in the Red Guard Movement and reindoctrinating party cadres at the May 7th cadre schools; (3) impose Maoist solutions on a host of problems, including emphasis on agrarian economic development, new political institutions (see *Revolutionary Committee*), and revision of the entire educational system.

December 9th Student Movement (1935) Nationwide student movement, sparked at Peking University, against absence of Kuomintang resistance to Japanese imperialism.

Educated Youth Young people who have successfully completed junior or senior middle school.

Five Guarantees The basic necessities of life, which are given to every individual in Chinese society: enough food, clothes, fuel, education for one's children, and an honorable funeral.

Five Loves (1) Chairman Mao; (2) Communist Party; (3) the Great Socialist Motherland; (4) workers, peasants, and soldiers; and (5) physical labor.

Four Modernizations Modernization is called for in four areas of the economy and society: agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology.

Four Olds Old customs, old habits, old culture, and old social thought. These were severely criticized during the Cultural Revolution as being manifest in the behavior of party cadres and the people, thus hampering the course of the revolution.

Gang of Four The collective name given to Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen, and Yao Wen-yuan when they came under attack in October 1976, a month after the death of Mao Tse-tung. The Gang of Four has been accused of many sins, one of the most serious being an attempt to create turmoil in education and elsewhere so that they could seize power.

Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) A program of extremely rapid economic development initiated by Mao in the late 1950s. Mao abandoned the economic plan patterned after the Soviet Union and advanced the belief that the economic modernization of China had to be greatly accelerated. He predicted, "We will overtake Great Britain in 10 years." In industry, very high production targets were set for steel, hydroelectric power, and rural factories. During this campaign, "backyard furnaces" were introduced. In agriculture, the communes were established, and extremely large quotas were set for each commune's output. The campaign led to considerable disorder and was exacerbated by natural disasters affecting agriculture and by the withdrawal of Soviet technicians.

Hundred Flowers Campaign Mao's 1957 campaign introduced under the slogan "Let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred schools of thought contend." Intellectuals were urged to criticize freely the party and the government. The movement halted abruptly in early June 1957, when criticisms had become very harsh and pointed, at which time an antirightist campaign was launched against the intellectuals. Stringent criteria were promulgated "to distinguish flowers from weeds."

In Agriculture Learn from Tachai, In Industry Learn from Taching Slogans exhorting rural areas to emulate Tachai's heroic self-development efforts and industries to follow the similar lead of the Taching oilfield complex. Tachai refused state aid, demonstrated enormous self-reliance, and has no private plots.

Intellectuals See **Stinking Ninth Category**

July 21st Worker's University An institution operated in a factory setting providing full-time training—both classroom and on-the-job—to prepare workers for jobs as engineers and technicians. The emulation model, praised by Mao Tse-tung in his directive of July 21, 1968, is located at Shanghai Machine Tool Plant No. 1.

Learn from Lei Feng A campaign initiated by Mao Tse-tung in 1962 and revitalized since April 1977, to have children and youth emulate Lei Feng, a young PLA man who was killed in 1961. Lei Feng is praised for his love of the motherland and service to others.

Liberation A term denoting the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949.

Lin Piao See **Criticism of Lin Pao.**

Mass Line The Maoist leadership concept that the Chinese Communist party should stimulate active popular participation in disucssing and applying policies, with its views reaching and influencing decisions at the top.

May 4th Movement (1919) A nationalistic movement, centered at Peking University but spreading to other urban areas, precipitated by decisions reached at the Versailles Conference which transferred former German concessions to Japan.

May 7th (Agricultural) College An institution in the rural area which adheres to Mao Tse-tung's directive of May 7th (1966) and provides training for agrotechnicians and, on occasion, for "barefoot doctors" and rural school teachers as well.

May 7th Cadre School Thought-rectification schools involving political study, manual labor, criticism, and self-criticism for cadres. Named for a Mao directive issued May 7, 1966, hundreds of these schools were created and many cadres spent from a few months to several years in attendance. Since 1969 or so, these schools have concentrated less on thought rectification and more on regular in-service education and training.

Moderates A term used in Section 1 of this report to describe the present leadership of the CCP and of the government of the People's Republic. Among the members of this group are Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, and Wang Tung-hsing. Mr. Yeh is chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. All are members of the Central Committee and Politburo of the CCP.

Neighborhood Committee A unit of urban local government, below a district and above residential (street) committees, responsible for selected child-care and other services (housewives' workshops, family planning, and so on) for the residents of an area typically with 40,000 to 70,000 people.

On the Ten Major Relationships A speech given by Mao Tse-tung in 1956 covering his view of how to build a powerful socialist country through the proper handling of the 10 "contradictions" in Chinese society: (1) heavy and light industry and agriculture; (2) industry in the coastal regions and the interior; (3) economic construction and defense construction; (4) the state, the units of production, and the producers; (5) the central and local authorities; (6) the Han nationality and minority nationalities; (7) party and nonparty; (8) revolution and counterrevolution; (9) right and wrong; (10) China and other countries. This speech has received much attention since Mao's death, not only as a model to be followed but also as evidence of how the Gang of Four sought to seize power by incorrectly handling these 10 contradictions.

Open-Door Schooling The practice of having a greater interchange between the classroom and the world outside the school. Students are supposed to spend some time every year off the campus, learning from workers and peasants and using society as a "big classroom" in which to investigate conditions and apply classroom knowledge to practice. Workers and peasants (and retirees) are supposed to help teach in the classroom. The practice of open-door schooling has declined somewhat since the overthrow of the Gang of Four.

Production Brigade An intermediate rural unit between several production teams and the commune leadership. A brigade usually embraces one or more villages and 10 to 15 teams.

Production Team The basic work and accounting unit in rural areas. A team typically includes 30 to 50 households. Depending on the size of a village, there may be 16 or more teams in a single village. Members of the team earn "work points," which may be turned in for grain, other produce, and cash.

Red Versus Expert A phrase used to describe two orientations. At times, educational, organizational and other policies have leaned toward the training and use of technicians and other specialists (expert position). At other times (for example, at the outset of the Cultural Revolution), political ideology, revolutionary spirit, and rectification of thought have been uppermost (the red position).

Residential (Street) Committee A leadership group composed of housewives and retirees, organized by a neighborhood committee to supervise the operation of nurseries, service centers, after-school programs, canteens, spare-time adult education, and similar services within a residential area. The area served by a residential committee typically includes a population of 1,000 to 8,000 people.

Revisionism The emphasis on professionalism over ideology in areas such as education, medicine, military, and industry allegedly by Liu Shao-chi and his followers. Mao criticized the "revisionist line" for promoting a new elite of intellectuals, for maintaining differences between urban and rural life, and for stressing theory over practice. Mao claimed that this line was not based on the backbone of the revolution in China—the workers and peasants—and failed to lead the masses toward true communism. One of the original and still major charges against the Soviet Union is that its leaders follow a revisionist line.

Revolutionary Committee During the Cultural Revolution decade, this was the presiding administrative-political body of such organizations as schools, research facilities, government offices, or other units. Revolutionary committees usually embodied the "three-in-one" concept of joint decision-making, combining representatives of the young, middle-aged and old, as well as cadres, technicians, and the rank-and-file members of the organization. In schools, for example, the revolutionary committees were made up of representatives of administrators, teachers and students. Workers' Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Teams were sent into the schools to restore order after 1968, and members of these teams as well as representatives of the PLA were also included on the revolutionary committees. The PLA representatives began to be withdrawn after tha fall of Lin Piao in 1971; the propaganda teams were officially withdrawn at the end of 1977. The revolutionary committees themselves are now being abolished in all nongovernmental units—that is, in production brigades, factories, schools, and research institutes. These revolutionary committees are being replaced by the more conventional forms of administration prevalent before the Cultural Revolution.

Sent-down Youth Young people from urban areas who, upon completion of middle school, are sent to work and live permanently on farms and communes. (See *Up to the Mountains, Down to the Villages*.)

Small Group A group of residents in an apartment building or similar small residential area of 15 to 40 households (50 to 150 people), led by three or more housewives or retirees. Small groups are supervised by residential (or street) committees.

Social Classes Classes are defined by family background (or occasionally by current status). Stated policy is to support poor peasants (who did not own land and worked for others before Liberation), lower-middle peasants (who owned some land and were barely self-sufficient), workers, and soldiers. Landlords, capitalists, and petty bourgeoisie are the other classes. Intellectuals comprise a stratum, not a class. Conceptually, there are, for example, "bourgeois intellectuals" and "proletarian intellectuals."

Socialist Education Campaign A three-year campaign, emulating the People's Liberation Army, of nationwide class struggle and cultivation of revolutionary successors.

Spare-time Workers' Universities and Schools Organized programs of instruction for workers, involving part-time classroom work before or after regular working hours.

State Council The highest executive unit of government, composed of the premier and several vice premiers. The State Council oversees the various commissions and ministries.

Stinking Ninth Category A derogatory term used by the Gang of Four and its followers to characterize intellectuals, all of whom were said to be bourgeois. Intellectuals were classified as the ninth and last category of class enemies, coming after landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, renegades, enemy agents, and unrepentant capitalist-roaders.

Tachai See *In Agriculture . . .*

Taching See *In Agriculture . . .*

Ten Major Relationships See *On Ten Major Relationships*

Three Goods Policy formulated by Mao Tse-tung in 1953: good health, good study, good work.

Three Great Revolutionary Movements Class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiments.

Three Major Differences The gap (which the Chinese seek to bridge) between workers and peasants, town and country, and mental and manual labor.

Three Red Banners During the period of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960), these comprised a policy for progress: (1) the "great leap" in production, (2) the "general line" for socialist construction, and (3) the formation of people's communes.

Three Separations Separation from proletarian politics, from the workers and peasants, and from production.

Two Estimates (in education) Positions on education attributed in 1977-1978 to the Gang of Four. One "estimate" held that between 1949 and 1966, nothing much had been accomplished in education because the revisionist line prevailed in that field throughout the period. The other "estimate" held that over the 17-year period intellectuals were predominantly bourgeois in their orientation. Both are said to be wrong, distorted, and exaggerated, and in October 1977, Chairman Hua called on the nation to criticize the "two estimates." (*China Reconstructs*, April 1978.)

Up to the Mountains, Down to the Villages A policy and program, speeded up in the late 1960s, whereby educated young people who have completed middle school are sent to work and live permanently on farms and communes, to learn from the peasants, and to contribute to socialist construction.

Walking on Two Legs The policy of combining traditional Chinese practice with new technology. For example, one often hears of the use of traditional Chinese herbs and medical techniques (acupuncture) combined with Western medical practice, such as use of surgery or antibiotics.

Abbreviations

CC	Central Committee (of the Chinese Communist Party)
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPAFFC	Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries
EY	Educated youth sent to the countryside
FFYP	First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957)
GLF	Great Leap Forward
GPCR	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
KMT	Kuomintang
NPC	National People's Congress
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China

A student performance at Nanking Primary School included tributes to China's political leaders. The Study Group was impressed by the educational effectiveness of the school, the enthusiasm of the students, and

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recognition of the schools' potential for indoctrinating children with the attitudes and values of the country's leadership.

4. Report on Specific Visits

by John Shea, with additional observations
by other members of the Study Group

Most of our visits to specific sites were preceded by a briefing and followed by a discussion, both led by the "responsible person"—that is, our liaison at each site. The following accounts include information gathered at the briefings, during the actual site visits, and at question-and-answer discussions following the visits. Only information directly observed or heard by the Study Group is included in the general report for each site. In the additional observations at the end of each general report members of the Study Group offer other perceptions and reactions. Further interpretations and applications to the American situation are found in Sections 1 and 2 of this report.

KWANGCHOW (CANTON) SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF (April 26, 1978)

Our hosts at this school were Ms. Ho, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, and Dr. Lo, head of the medical team.

The school. Kwangchow School for the Deaf was founded in 1946 as an expensive private school with few students and staff. The school was taken over by the state in 1949 and now has over 250 students and over 80 teachers and staff, including 12 doctors.

Students range in age from about 5 to 17 and are distributed among 20 classes that cover primary grades one through five; most deaf children in China do not progress beyond primary school. Each student typically receives eight years of school, so presumably more than one year is needed to complete each grade. Most students are from the city of Kwangchow, but some are from the suburbs. Some students board at the school; others commute each day, usually by bus.

Tuition and medical treatment (acupuncture) are free, but parents pay for food, busing, and school supplies. The administration of this school is in the process of changing— pursuant to the directive of the latest National Congress—from direction by a revolutionary committee to direction by a principal or director. Parents are not involved in the management of the school but are encouraged to communicate with teachers and help with some of the teaching at home. Parent meetings are held periodically at the school.

Most of the teachers at the school for the deaf are normal school graduates, although some are middle school graduates. At present, there are no special training programs for these teachers and they learn skills and techniques for teaching deaf and hard-of-hearing children on the job, but Ms. Ho recognized the need for more specialized training in the future. Teachers are chosen with several qualities in mind: sympathy, love, patience, and skill in drawing (because so much of the teaching is done with pictures).

Curriculum. The curriculum consists of classes in Chinese language, arithmetic, general knowledge, politics, medical treatment, and manual labor. Classes begin at 8:20 A.M. and last until 4:40 P.M. There are four 40-minute periods in the morning, a two-hour recess for lunch and rest, and three 40-minute periods in the afternoon. The expanded schedule for boarding students includes physical training before breakfast, supper followed by personal hygiene from 5:00 to 7:00 P.M., organized study from 7:00 to 8:00 P.M., and television two or three evenings per week.

One and one-half hours per week are spent in extracurricular activities, which children select according to

At the Kwangchow School for the Deaf, below, a teacher used flash cards to teach number recognition. In a one-room rural school, lower right, a teacher presents a lesson in decimal fractions.

their interests. These activities are varied and include performing arts, construction of props, and painting. In addition, some of the children attend a children's palace (see account of May 1 visit to Yangpu District Children's Palace).

All students learn a trade while in school, and all perform manual labor—one-half to one day per week at the school, two days per semester at a local commune, and two to three weeks in a factory during the final year at the school. Ms. Ho told us that this combination of schooling with productive work is primarily ideological rather than to develop particular work skills.

Medical treatment. Before 1968, children received no medical treatment at all for their deafness. Now acupuncture treatment is administered each Wednesday afternoon to every child. Two needles are inserted—one in the left forearm and the other just in front of the left ear. (Needles are also occasionally inserted under the tongue and under the chin—apparently to stimulate the vocal chords—but this practice is not common.) Dr. Lo reported that although none of the student-patients have recovered full hearing from the acupuncture treatment, about 70 percent have experienced some improvement.* Hearing aids would help some of the children, but money to purchase them is simply not available.

Language and speech. Before 1968, classes were conducted primarily in sign language. This method is now considered inadequate and the school emphasizes speech along with signing. Because the vocal chords are said to degenerate if not used, the school tries to help the children speak.

In classes for younger children, there is heavy emphasis on group vocal responses, which are literally shouted. There is also considerable emphasis on the Roman alphabet, which helps the students to learn Chinese characters more easily. Speaking ability varies considerably among students: some can communicate without any sign language; some can speak only a few words and phrases; some have little speaking ability at all.**

Assignments following graduation. Students who are able to complete the fifth grade are considered primary school graduates and are assigned to work according to their special abilities and the needs of the state. Some graduates are assigned to a "training house," where they work and receive additional training simultaneously. Before 1968, graduates were automatically sent to factories for deaf-mutes. This is no longer deemed necessary, however, and workers with normal or partial hearing are expected to help those who are totally deaf. Graduates assigned to a factory receive the same wages as ordinary workers.

Deaf students typically learn slowly, and unless a student's ability to communicate improves greatly, it is virtually impossible for him or her to go on to middle school. Kwangchow School for the Deaf has never sent a student on to middle school, but this year it is establishing its own junior middle school, and some large cities (Shanghai for one) have technical schools for the deaf.

A number of students we met wore the red neckerchiefs of the Little Red Soldiers, and the school has a student branch of the Communist Youth League. We could not determine, however, whether a graduate of the school for the deaf might ultimately qualify for full membership in the CCP.

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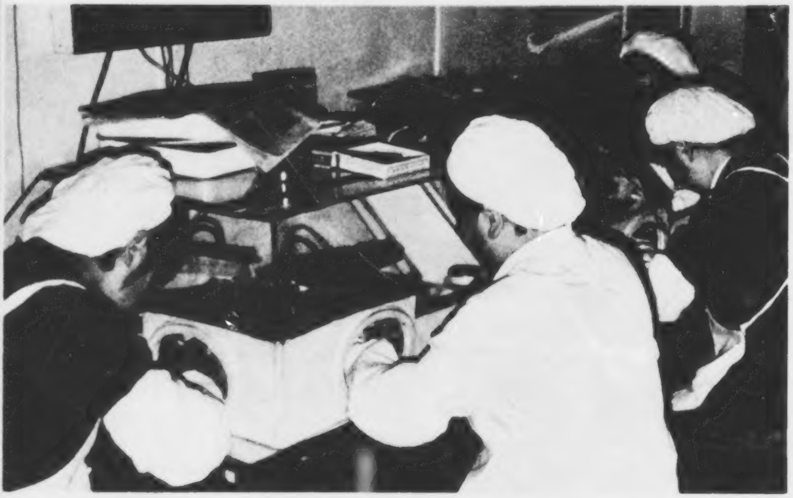
*We attended a song-and-dance presentation which Ms. Ho said was performed by students who had "recovered" as a result of acupuncture. However Jack and Caroline Service, who had visited the school in 1975, said that the staff seemed to be using acupuncture less and to be less optimistic about the results.

**Sign language in China has some similarities to sign languages in other countries, but because auxiliary words and grammar differ fundamentally, deaf people cannot readily communicate across national boundaries.



These women work in a plant employing nearly 350 people in the manufacture of transistors and other electronic parts. The factory began with 32 women in a Shanghai neighborhood who brought hammers and other tools from home in 1958 and began making wooden boxes as a contribution to society.

Additional Observations

- I was greatly impressed by the discipline and attention of the children in the classroom and by their poise and apparent joy of life in their song-and-dance performance before our group. — CLARK KERR.

- I was impressed with the skillful combination of teaching methods used in this school—sign language, lip reading, and regular speech—as well as with the self-confidence with which the children communicated orally. — ALICE RIVLIN.

- (1) Some students are sent to the countryside to work, but since we had to ask specifically about this, it is doubtful that very many deaf students are sent there. It is government policy that urban parents may keep one of their children home. (2) On standard examinations, deaf adults in the United States typically score rather low (fifth- or sixth-grade reading level), but we have come to understand in the U.S. that the English-language problem on exams masks actual reasoning and other intellectual abilities of deaf persons. An absence of this understanding may account, in part, for deaf students in China not going beyond primary school. (3) The energy, precision, and use of multiple modes of communication by teachers was impressive. (4) Our hosts did not readily answer our questions about where multihandicapped deaf children are schooled. The reason is unclear to me: ignorance perhaps, embarrassment possibly. — JOHN SHEA.

- There was no way to tell that the kids were deaf, except when the teacher deliberately covered her mouth while asking questions; most of the children clearly could not comprehend then. All age groups were orderly and well behaved—no wriggling, squirming, punching, or pinching. When not reciting, they all sat the same way, either with arms folded and resting on their desks or held behind them with hands touching the seats of their chairs. — ALFRED FITT.

- This was clearly a superior institution, both professionally and in its humaneness, and we were much impressed with Ms. Ho, the director. The visit was a heart-warming experience. — ALAN PIFER.

- A writing class for older students was working with the Chinese fable of the Spider and the Silkworm—about a struggle from which the silkworm emerges triumphant because it works to make things for people, while the spider is intent only on ensnaring its own lunch. Just another fable from the universal tradition of childhood morality tales? Or was the silkworm the communist and the spider the capitalist? — JANE AND WILLARD WIRTZ.

NATIONAL CHUNGSHAN UNIVERSITY IN KWANGCHOW

(April 26, 1978)

Our guide at the university was Professor Hsia Shu-chang, responsible member of the theoretical group, who was accompanied by several students, teachers, and other staff members.

The university. The National Chungshan University was founded in 1924 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and was named after him in 1926. (Dr. Sun chose Chungshan as his honorific name while in exile in Japan). The university was "returned to the people" in 1949.

The university offers 32 specialties in 10 departments—five in the liberal arts (Chinese language and literature, history, philosophy, economics, and foreign languages) and five in the sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and geography and geology). There were 3,000 students enrolled in the spring of 1978, and an additional 1,200 were expected to enroll during the summer. Day students are accepted, but nearly all the students board at the university. The faculty, consisting of professors, associate professors, lecturers, and assistants, numbers 1,100 (see the additional observations of Alice Rivlin and Alan Pifer at the end of this section).

The task of training university teachers has been assigned to Chungshan, and the university is also bolstering its scientific research efforts by recruiting new undergraduate and graduate research students. Chungshan is a "keypoint" university and is expected to support July 21st workers' universities and May 7th agricultural colleges in the countryside in addition to its regular programs. In 1977, more than 10,000 people were enrolled in a variety of special short-term courses both on and off campus.

Chungshan University has undergone a series of reforms since 1949, and Chairman Mao's line has been dominant. During the Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and the Gang of Four disrupted the university's progress, but now that the gang has been deposed, the university is back "on the right track," according to Professor Hsia. The recent Fifth National People's Congress, a National Conference on Science, and a National Conference on Education have all helped reorient the university.

Curriculum and work. Under the Gang of Four, the knowledge base of the university was narrow and little time was devoted to basic theories. Now basic theoretical work is emphasized in order to give students a broader knowledge base and enable them to adapt better to changes in scientific knowledge.

Out of each 46-week school year, 40 weeks are devoted to academic study and six weeks are spent working in factories, communes, or community service. This manual labor is considered part of the curriculum and is arranged by the university. Thus the university is carrying out Chairman Mao's directive that education serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor, but Professor Hsia noted that further study is needed on *how* education and labor should be combined.

University admissions and the examination system. There are far more applicants to Chungshan (and other schools) than can enroll: last year, there were 930,000 applicants to institutions of higher education in the province, including technical institutes and the like, and only 30,000 students enrolled. Chinese youth typically spend at least two years working between graduation from middle school and entrance into a university or other postsecondary institution. However, we were told that Chairman Mao and Premier Chou wanted at least some students to come directly from middle school to the university, and in fact 11 percent of last year's students at Chungshan did so. An additional 6 percent had not yet graduated from middle school (these are probably especially gifted children). However, the majority of students are older and have spent a couple of years working since graduation from middle school.

Three criteria are considered in the admissions process—moral, intellectual and physical. The moral criterion includes political consciousness, family background and behavior. The main emphasis is on one's politics, since all current applicants were born after 1949, have grown up in a socialist society, and have been educated according to socialist ideology. During the Gang of Four era, the university rejected students from the exploiting classes, but children do not choose their families and it is now assumed that individuals influence the future by their own behavior.*

Concerning the intellectual criterion, in December, 1977, a new unified provincial entrance examination was given. (Examinations given in 1978 will be unified nationwide: across the country, all students will take the identical examinations at the same time, which will save both time and money.) The examination is primarily written, except for oral or demonstration sections in foreign languages, dancing, musical instruments, and so on. Applicants list a first, second, and third choice of both institution and field of study, and they are enrolled according to their marks on the exam and their preferences. For example, if Chungshan University has 100 openings in the physics department, it chooses the 100 best candidates in physics who have specified Chungshan as their choice of school. If there is an excess of qualified applicants in this field, those not selected by Chungshan may be admitted to another institution, perhaps in a related field of study.

Applicants who pass the entrance examinations are also given physical checkups, both to ensure that they can endure arduous study and to test for special physical requirements in certain fields. For example, a geology student must have a strong constitution for fieldwork, and

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*On the day of our visit, *Hsinhua* reported on party policy concerning political screening of university applicants, indicating that the applicant's own political showing should be the main consideration. A letter accompanying the commentary discussed the case of Chu Chia, a middle school graduate who was disqualified for university admission because his maternal grandfather was a counterrevolutionary 20 years ago. Education authorities overruled the disqualification, and Mr. Chia was admitted to Chengchow University. (*Hsinhua, News Bulletin*, No. 10695, Thursday, April 27, 1978, pp. 16-17.)

color blindness would be a hindrance for students in chemistry and geology.

National quotas are established and allocated to each university for each field of study to assure that graduates are later assigned in their area of specialty. Professor Hsia said that during the Gang of Four period, many graduates were assigned to work outside the area of their study, which was unfortunate in light of China's need for trained personnel in many areas.

The university's choice of entering students is subject to final approval by leadership at higher levels. Standards are kept high, but failing students may retake the examination each year until they are 30 years old. There are also abundant alternative education opportunities for students who do not pass the examination.

Postsecondary education opportunities. The Ministry of Education recently announced that 55 universities are to be opened or restored to operations after closure by the Gang of Four. This will increase considerably the number of openings in colleges and universities next year. Alternative postsecondary education opportunities include: July 21st universities, which provide on-the-job training in a factory setting leading to jobs as engineers and technicians; May 7th colleges, which train agro-technicians and other professionals to serve in rural areas; and courses via radio, television, or correspondence.

Assignments upon graduation. Universities do not have direct contact with employers except in special situations in which classes have been designed to train personnel for particular work units. Graduates are assigned to work through the State Planning Commission and both state needs and student preferences are considered. State needs take precedence, however, and students are urged to "go to places where the country most needs them." Students wishing further education can take postgraduate courses for advancement or can study while they work.

College graduates have beginning salaries slightly higher than other workers' but less than veteran workers'. Professor Hsia said that proper compensation for college graduates is a question that needs further study.

Modernization versus equality. A member of our group asserted that modernization often entails dominance by an intellectual elite—as in the Soviet Union and elsewhere—and asked how China hopes to avoid the antagonism between modernization and equality. Professor Hsia pointed out that China is trying to modernize on the basis of Marxist principles of scientific socialism in an attempt to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation. If successful, modernization will not hinder equality; instead, the whole nation will become wealthy. "As you know," Mr. Hsia said, "the distribution principle now in effect is 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' Sometime in the future, it will become '. . . to to each according to his need.' "

Additional Observations

- (1) The universities seem to be moving toward a system of admission that stresses, first, scores on national examinations and, second, grades in middle school. (2) Increased emphasis is being given to what we would call advanced placement of brilliant students from the middle school directly to the universities, particularly in science and mathematics. — CLARK KERR.

- (1) The extremely high ratio of 1,000 faculty to 3,000 students is a legacy of the gang. The ratio is expected to fall as the number of students increases. (2) I was struck by the enthusiasm of Dr. Hsia, the responsible person, and his evident relief that the chaos and anti-intellectualism of recent years was over. The stress on the return to traditional intellectual values was very heavy. — ALICE RIVLIN.

- (1) I asked whether any of the students' nonacademic work actually was done on campus. The only labor they do on campus is entirely voluntary and intermittent, such as putting up a wall to be used for posters. But university students simply do not work in kitchens, dining halls, grounds maintenance, and so on. The 15 percent of "work" comes out of the regular 46-week academic year and consists of a few days or a week at a time in a factory or rural commune. They perform no work during their six weeks of vacation. (2) I asked about costs of attendance, knowing there was no tuition charged: about 15 yuan ($9) a month for food and another 10 yuan for incidentals—no room charge. Suppose a family could not put up the 25 yuan a month? The state makes a gift to the needed amount if the student's family is too poor. What percentage got such aid? They did not know. — Alfred Fitt

- The high faculty-student ratio was characteristic of every higher educational institution we visited. There seem to be two explanations for it: low student intake during the decade of the Cultural Revolution and the years following it and excess faculty caused by the recent return of teachers sent away from the university during that period, augmented by the retention of teachers hired on political grounds as their replacements. — Alan Pifer

- As we were walking around the campus after the briefing session, some of us stopped beside some students playing basketball. Several of them came up, smiling warmly, apparently both in friendly curiosity and to try out their English. I asked what they were going to do when they graduated. None of them answered in terms of "whatever I am assigned to." One boy said he hoped to be an interpreter; another wants to be a translator; several expect to teach. — Willard Wirtz

KWANGCHOW CULTURAL PARK
(April 26, 1978, evening)

After dinner, we travelled by bus to one of several cultural parks in Kwangchow. The weather was delightful and the park was crowded. Chinese pay an entry fee of Y0.05 (about 3 cents), but we entered without charge.

The closest American equivalent would be one-third exhibit hall, one-third amusement park, and one-third open-air theater. Parks of this nature were not available to the public prior to Liberation.

On our stroll, we saw several handicraft displays, a very crowded roller skating rink, an outdoor amphitheater where a Chinese opera was being performed, an outdoor movie, a stand-up theater, and performance of local tales in the Cantonese dialect. A ferris wheel and other rides were not in operation.

KINDERGARTEN OF YEN-TENG ROAD, KWANGCHOW
(April 27, 1978)

The Study Group was welcomed by the children at this school, and our host was Ms. Lo, the head of the kindergarten, who was accompanied by several teachers and staff members.

The kindergarten. In the United States, the Kindergarten of Yen-teng Road would be called a day-care center. It has existed for about 30 years, serves 260 pupils ("little friends") three to seven years old, and has more than 30 teachers and other staff members. The children are divided into three age groups: three- to five-year-olds, five- to six-year-olds, and six- to seven-year-olds. Parents drop their children off before work in the morning (7:00 A.M.) and pick them up after work (5:00 P.M.). Parents pay about 6 yuan ($3.50) per half-year term.

Anyone in the district can apply to place a child in kindergarten, and because almost all neighborhoods, communes, and factories operate them, about 70 percent of the children in the area actually attend one (grandmothers generally care for the other 30 percent). Applications are accepted every summer, and if one kindergarten is already full, parents can apply to another.

The Kindergarten of Yen-teng Road is of average size, but it is somewhat above average in quality. The staff has been trying very hard to improve its work along the lines laid down by Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua in the Eleventh Congress of the CCP and the Fifth National People's Congress.

Curriculum. The kindergarten prepares the children to develop morally, intellectually, and physically—"to serve the people and to learn to help each other," in Ms. Lo's words. In our tour of classrooms and the playground, we observed varied activities, including an art class, a story telling class, an arithmetic class, playground activities, a music class and a class in which children were learning the alphabet. In addition we were treated to a puppet show, play acting, music, and dancing, which are all part of the curriculum. Much of the curriculum involves activity, but for two periods a day the children sit still, which prepares them for primary school. Standard

Chinese (the Peking dialect) is used in the kindergarten and is in fact given special attention, because the everyday language of the people in Kwangchow district is Cantonese.

The teachers at the Kindergarten of Yen-teng Road have studied current theories of stages of child development and have learned from research in the U.S. and U.S.S.R. and from experiences in Yenan prior to Liberation. At the kindergarten, the different age groups are given the following emphases: three-year-olds learn to speak and to relate appropriately to teachers, parents, and friends; four-year-olds visit neighborhoods and local communes to learn the names of streets and places; five-year-olds begin to learn to tell stories and express ideas; six- and seven-year-olds have organized field trips to factories and communes to learn the names of crops and products and to report on what they have seen. (Another reason for these trips is to ensure that children will appreciate and enjoy work. To this end, children also engage in light housekeeping and gardening tasks around the school.)

Ms. Lo was asked if children in China differ in readiness to learn because of inequities in their past, as in the U.S. She responded that while individual differences are recognized, the children all start school on an equal basis now, and inequities or injustices in their past do not exist. Teachers look for the causes of individual differences and encourage the children to improve. Brighter children are assigned to help slower ones, and in general there is individual coaching for children who are slow and extra challenges for those who are gifted.

The National Educational Work Conference in Peking has been considering how to improve physical education, language training, drawing, and arithmetic in the schools, including preschools. One teacher mentioned that six-year-olds can now start primary school if they are mature enough—a new development in this district. In general, however, academics are not stressed in the kindergarten, so children who are able to attend kindergarten will not begin the first grade too far ahead of children who are raised at home.

Parents and the media. Conferences between parents and teachers take place in several ways: conversations may take place before or after school; notes may be exchanged; and parent meetings are held periodically and include performances by the children and reports on each child's progress. If learning problems are traced to family difficulties, the teachers are responsible for counseling the families. (In one case, a kindergartner's depression was traced to the fact that his father had cancer and his mother and grandmother often wept at home. The teacher asked the mother not to show her grief in front of the child.)

The mass media also contribute to children's education by promoting strong role models. An example is the campaign to encourage children to "Learn from Lei Feng," a national hero who laid down his life in service to the people and who was praised for many acts of selfless work in the public interest. Children hear about Lei Feng on the radio and read about him in a children's newspaper and in small picture books, and his picture hangs in some classrooms.

Health care. Some of the children have had inoculations before enrolling in the kindergarten; others receive inoculations at a nearby clinic while they are pupils. Children who become ill at school are kept in a separate room and looked after by a medical worker; unless the illness is serious, the parents are not called away from their work. Teachers are expected to notice any health problems and report them to a health worker from a local clinic who visits the kindergarten twice a week. In addition, periodic dental and eyesight checkups are conducted.

Teacher training. Some teachers are graduates of ordinary middle schools, but the most thorough preparation for kindergarten teachers takes place in special preschool programs in normal schools. Teachers also learn from each other and from various spare-time education programs: they attend each other's classes, exchange ideas, take short courses for teachers, and visit other kindergartens.

Additional Observations

- Here and elsewhere I noted the emphasis on (1) activity for young children—sports, work, dancing, theatrical performance, participation in the classroom, and the like, and on (2) moral teaching—respect for authority, the importance of discipline and hard work, reverence for Mao and Hua, love of country, the need to help others, the importance of being on time, the value of self-reliance, and so on. — Clark Kerr

- (1) These were zestful, active, interested children. They were clearly healthy and well nourished. There were no signs of listlessness of poverty that one sees in some low-standard countries or even in parts of the United States. I was amused to note that in China small boys draw Navy ships and war planes while girls draw houses and flowers—just like in the United States. (2) It seems surprising that teachers did not respond when we asked about the use of kindergarten to overcome educational handicaps or the legacy of past discrimination. They seemed to think this was not a problem in China. (3) One of the teachers remarked that children this age used to come from very large families and often suffered the consequences of neglect. This problem, she says, has disappeared. These children come from very small families and are more likely to be spoiled than neglected. — Alice Rivlin

- Teachers talk a good deal about trying very hard and deliberately to learn from each other and from experience. Salary starts at 35 yuan (about $22) or so a month. — Jane and Willard Wirtz

KWEILIN MIDDLE SCHOOL

(April 28, 1978)

Our host at the school was Mr. Yang, Director of the Education Department, who was accompanied by several teachers and staff members.

The school. Kweilin Middle School, located on the outskirts of Kweilin, was founded in 1905. It consists of several classroom buildings, dormitories, and workshops and about 16 acres of land under cultivation. At the time of our visit, the school had 1,800 students: 1,200 are day students and 600 board at the school. This is a general middle school organized into 37 classes which cover three years of junior middle school and two years of senior middle school.

During the Gang of Four era, the school operated 22 to 24 class periods per week; now it offers 26 to 28 periods. Emphasis is given to basic knowledge and the ability to solve problems, and students are learning to advance the Four Modernizations.

"Keypoint" status. Of the 16 middle schools in the district, Kweilin Middle School is one of two "keypoint schools." "Key" middle schools are linked to "key" primary schools. "Key" schools have better teaching staffs, materials, and facilities than other schools, and they receive somewhat more funds. Some "key" schools are under the jurisdiction of the central government; others are under provincial authorities. Kweilin Middle School is in a third category—under municipal jurisdiction.

Students apply for admission to Kweilin Middle School and take a competitive examination. There are moral, intellectual, and physical criteria for admission. Family background is not important; what counts is the political awareness of the individual.

Curriculum. The school has a unified curriculum intended to lay a firm foundation of basic knowledge. Courses include political studies, Chinese language, foreign language, biology, chemistry, physics, arithmetic, fine arts, physical culture, and geography. Students have some choice of courses in their final year, depending on whether they are headed for engineering or liberal arts in college.

Students spend one-half day each week and one full week each term working either in a school workshop or on a school farm project. In addition to the farmland under cultivation, the school has three workshops: machine work, calcium chloride production,[*] and repair and maintenance of electric motors. Theory and practice are linked in several ways: science lessons are combined with agricultural work and experiments; arithmetic is combined with surveying work for irrigation and construction; physics students perform small tasks in a factory.

Some students go off-campus to work on farms or in factories while they are enrolled in school.

Three reasons were given for having productive workshops at the school: to establish a link between theory and practice; to cultivate a love for physical labor; and to help the school financially. The workshops employ 11 hired workers to train students in production techniques, and the products of the workshops are distributed according to the state plan.

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[*] Before 1970, local plants in Kweilin had to buy calcium chloride from sources outside the area. Since limestone and calcite are common in the area, it was decided to produce calcium chloride in local school workshops.

Assignments following graduation. Middle school students are encouraged to prepare for one of two paths: to prepare for college or university or to go to work in the city or countryside. Last year, about one-third of the middle school graduates were admitted to colleges and universities (see April 26 account of National Chungshan University in Kwangchow for admissions procedures); most of the rest went to work in the countryside.

Dropping out of school is rare, usually limited to cases involving a severe health problem or serious violation of school discipline. Discipline is maintained through education and mutual help (criticism and self-criticism), and there are four steps in the school's disciplinary procedure: (1) warning, (2) record of demerits, (3) probation, and (4) expulsion.

Red Guards. Of the 1,800 students at Kweilin Middle School, about 1,100 will at some point be members of the Red Guards. (Seven or eight students in one class we visited had red armbands identifying them as Red Guard members.) Students apply for membership, and must be ideologically, physically, and intellectually fit for acceptance. At the school, the Red Guards enforce discipline and engage in "good works." They may apply for membership in the Communist Youth League and later in the Chinese Communist Party.

Teachers. Teachers in the junior middle school program are graduates of either secondary schools or colleges of pedagogy; senior middle school teachers are all graduates of pedagogical universities. All teachers are assigned by the state rather than being recruited or selected by the school.

Several in-service procedures exist for improvement of teaching effectiveness: teachers often work together; leading personnel sit in on classes and offer suggestions and help; teachers visit other schools and engage in self-study; and some groups of teachers invite veteran teachers in their field to come and lecture.

Additional Observations

- (1) I was not impressed by the workshops. I did not see evidence of much actual work by students. (2) The reference to standard political slogans in presentations varied greatly from place to place we visited—from none at all to a great deal. The presentation at this school was at the latter end of the range. — Clark Kerr

- I was surprised that the "key" nature of this school was not more evident in its program and general atmosphere. While it is clearly a serious and businesslike institution, it has little in the way of unusual programs, teaching, or leadership for other schools to emulate. Its work program is a make-do affair; its physical plant would be a good project for a work program—it needs general fixing up. As in other schools, we saw that rote learning characterizes instruction. We were told later that not many visiting groups go to this school. — Harold Howe II

- Here and elsewhere when we asked about equality of treatment of girls and boys, the teachers were somewhat defensive. I was surprised that no one could produce a statistic on the proportion of women among those admitted to higher education. (2) The productive enterprises we saw certainly were unimpressive. We were told, however, that these enterprises produce a profit that helped support the school. This was hard to believe from what we saw; perhaps we caught them at an off moment. — Alice Rivlin

- (1) We visited several classrooms. In one, a biology teacher was using the only overhead projector we were to see. In an English class, students were reading aloud from a book with heavy political content. We were told that the United States is covered in a course on world geography. (2) Asked whether boys and girls are treated alike in selection to college or assignment to work, a member of the staff, with some self-consciousness, said that differences in physique might be taken into account. — John Shea

- When the teacher calls on individual students, they rise to answer, and when they are through her only reaction is a curt, almost harsh, "Sit down." — Willard Wirtz

RURAL SCHOOL NEAR THE LI RIVER
(April 29, 1978)

During a riverboat sightseeing trip on the Li River, we chanced upon a one-room schoolhouse opening onto a village square. The "school" was simply a roof and a dirt floor—there were no outside walls—and the equipment was primitive. The male teacher was presenting a lesson in multiplication of decimal fractions. There were about 30 students 7 to 12 years of age, two of whom had baby siblings in tow. The students appeared earnest and interested in their work. They were surprised when we wandered over to look at the schoolroom, but they were not distracted from their work.

Additional Observations

- The methods and the children's intentness and discipline (sitting, arms behind their backs or folded on the desks in front of them) seemed the same we had seen in Canton and Kweilin. — WILLARD WIRTZ

CHILDREN'S PALACE, YANGPU DISTRICT, SHANGHAI
(May 1, 1978)

This children's palace is in one of Shanghai's 10 districts. Several of the children helped guide our group and sat in on the discussion that followed.

The children's palace. Every district and municipality in China (and some suburban counties as well) supports its own after-school children's palace for students 7 to 16 years of age who attend local primary and junior middle schools.

The Children's Palace of Yangpu District, established in 1959 during the Great Leap Forward, currently has 1,400 students enrolled in training classes each half term; additional students participate in mass activities such as table tennis and badminton. Since there are 70,000 students in the district, not all children can participate in children's palaces at once; however over a six-year period many children have the opportunity to attend at some time. The palace is operated from 3:00 P.M. to 5:30 P.M.

Activities. The children's palace is intended to cooperate with schools and families to develop children morally, intellectually, and physically. Training classes include embroidery, wood-block and linoleum prints, drawing, collage, radio building, model ships and airplanes, violin, piano, flute, orchestra, and chorus. Mass activities include performing arts and gymnastics, table tennis, and theatrical presentations. Ping pong is the only sport at the palace; separate spare-time physical culture schools exist for other sports.

Students at the children's palace are expected to take both skills learned and items produced back to their school classrooms for use with fellow students. In addition, an entire class from a school occasionally comes to the children's palace for training in a specific skill.

Selection. Children must apply for admittance into the children's palace, and selection is based on intellectual ability, special talents, behavior, and good health. Some children with special talents are recruited by the children's palace. Most pupils there are members of the Little Red Soldiers, but this is not a requirement for admission. One child in an art class exemplified the relationship between the school and the children's palace. While in school, this child showed great interest and talent in drawing. She applied to the palace, passed the entrance examination, and now learns drawing skills at the children's palace and in turn teaches her classmates at school.

If a child is not admitted to the palace, the parents might write a letter requesting reconsideration or confer with teachers at the child's school. The palace might reconsider and accept the child or might refer the child to a "home of the children"—an after-school program with similar but more limited activities.

Teachers. The children's palace has 33 full-time teachers (most assigned from the normal colleges) and 20 regular part-time teachers and volunteers (including performers from theatrical troupes, workers, and middle-school graduates). Only the 33 full-time teachers are paid. Part-time teachers and volunteers are recruited by staff members, who seek out people with something special to offer, ask if he or she is willing to help at the palace, and obtain permission for the person to have time off from work for this purpose. Work-unit leaders generally agree to the part-time assignments because, according to our host, "they recognize the need of the country to develop people's talents."

Additional Observations

- The children's palaces are part of the great search for talent. — Clark Kerr

- I found this a lively and interesting place where kids were having fun and doing worthwhile things according to their own interests and talents. It was much less regimented than the schools but still an important training ground for both artistic and social leadership. Anyone who thinks there is no competition in China should see these kids play ping-pong! — Harold Howe II

- This was a very well-organized activity center with a lot going on at the same time but very little confusion. All the children were actively participating. No one was milling aimlessly around. This sense of purpose and organization seemed to be typical of schools and children's activities that we visited, and it contrasted with the rather aimless atmosphere in factories. — Alice Rivlin

- Thoroughly enjoyed this visit, especially the chance to have some contact with children in a less formal setting than a school. We found them warmly responsive and rather touchingly solicitous about our welfare. The staff was also appealing. — Alan Pifer

- (1) There is no charge for participation; salaries and materials are paid for out of District Education Bureau funds. (2) Scouts are sent to the palace to identify talented children for schools. Our hosts disagreed on how selective the recruitment is. (3) The Shanghai Troupe of Classical Music recruits talent from here. One flute player went on to a music conservatory in Peking. (4) Pianos are rarely found at home, but flutes and violins are typically family-owned. (5) We were treated to a theatrical presentation in which each element has a clear message, for example, a tale of a boy and girl who went fishing illustrated how avoidance of temptation (following a butterfly) brought fishing success and friendship. — John Shea

- The attitude here toward children is something very special. There are so few outside things to divert the children. Even so, the way they excel at these activities is almost unbelievable. — Jane Wirtz

- Whatever it is they are doing with these kids seems at least as important to the kids as to "the state." You get a strong impression of *enjoyed* discipline and perfectionism, of *fun* in excellence, of *pleasure* in thoughtfulness for others. There are no ordinary forms of "coercion" involved, if that word fits at all. The kids *think* they're happy and lucky. How much more than that is there to it? — Willard Wirtz

SPARE-TIME EDUCATION IN SHANGHAI
(May 1, 1978)

Ms. Li, responsible member of the Education Bureau of the Municipality of Shanghai, led a comprehensive discussion on spare-time education in the province.

Types of spare-time education. The term "spare-time education" refers to educational activities of those who are not regular students—that is, workers, peasants, and soldiers—taken on a part-time basis (except for July 21st workers' universities, which are full time). Spare-time education was advocated by Mao Tse-tung and practiced in Yenan, and it has now expanded to include higher education. Shanghai operates the Shanghai Workers' Spare-Time University, with branches in each of the city's 10 districts. In addition, each district operates a spare-time workers' college (sometimes called a district workers' technical school), and there are May 7th agricultural colleges in the 10 surrounding counties to train agrotechnicians. Other bureaus, factories, commercial departments, and government institutions also operate spare-time schools, bringing the total number of such institutions in the Shanghai area to 600, many of which are July 21st workers' universities. Spare-time schools also exist for government officials and members of commercial departments; workers study "culture" (to obtain the equivalent of a senior middle school education) or receive technical training. More than 50 schools exist on agricultural communes, where teachnical spare-time training is conducted within production brigades and their subsidiary production teams. Evening classes emphasizing basic technical skills are held two or three times a week for agricultural workers.

Correspondence, radio, and television are used in addition to classroom instruction to provide spare-time education, especially at higher education levels. All forms of nonformal education are similar in other areas of China, but Ms. Li said that their quality is higher in the urban areas of Shanghai and Peking.

Student enrollment. There are no age restrictions for participation in spare-time education, but most participants are under age 45. Many are young graduates of middle school, sent to factories or to the countryside, who wish to continue their education while they work. In Shanghai, there are about 36,000 students in regular colleges and universities, 12,000 students enrolled in television and correspondence courses, and 20,000 (1 percent of Shanghai's industrial labor force) in July 21st workers' universities and spare-time colleges and universities. Thus, nearly as many people are enrolled in spare-time nonformal education as in regular colleges and universities.

Schedules and materials. The Shanghai Workers' Spare-Time University and the district spare-time colleges have a variety of schedules, including evening classes, study two or three afternoons per week, weekend study, and so on. Students devote about the same amount of time on each course as students in regular higher education, but spare-time students take fewer courses. There is usually no foreign-language requirement and little or no political study, perhaps because political study is regularly scheduled for most workers during work hours.

The Shanghai Library is available to spare-time students, and factories, district offices, and other work units have their own libraries. Some courses use regular university textbooks; others compile their own instructional material.

Spare-time workers' universities. Each spare-time university or college operated by a district or municipality has its own buildings, and each is about the size of a middle school. Students must have the equivalent of a senior middle school education or must enroll in make-up classes. Teaching staffs include both full-time and part-time employees; some are college graduates and others are industrial technicians. Courses include machinery, electronics, and other topics identical to those in regular universities. However, spare-time university students take fewer courses in basic knowledge and their work is more applied and less theoretical.

Some students attend spare-time workers' universities for personal gain, which is acceptable if it conforms with the needs of the state. Others enroll because factories and fellow workers want them to learn new methods of production. Typically more workers want to attend spare-time universities than can be served, and work units must choose whom to send.

Shanghai Television University. Before the Cultural Revolution, regular institutions of higher education offered television and correspondence courses. During the Cultural Revolution, however, all universities were closed so that the people could "make revolution." The Gang of Four put politics first and believed that education automatically led to bourgeois thinking and behavior. They tried to close all 26 colleges and universities in Shanghai, but 16 stayed open. After the four were deposed, the Shanghai Television University, along with many other institutions, was restored to operation.

The TV university offers two programs: (1) regular courses (such as mathematics, physics, and medical science) given over a three- or four-year period and (2) systematic lectures or presentations on technical subjects such as mechanics, electronics, or agricultural science. In 1978 there were 12,000 "organized" students taking television courses. "Organized" refers to students selected on the basis of entrance examinations who have help from teachers, have homework assignments, and often are given paid time off from work. As is the case with spare-time workers' universities, there are more applicants for television courses than can be served. A work unit can recommend a worker for admission, or the worker can apply directly to the TV university, which in turn will request a recommendation from the work unit. (The work unit may refuse to recommend admission if the worker is too important to the unit to be given time off.) Once a recommendation has been made, the worker is given an examination to test intellectual level. Family background is no longer a consideration for admission, because most workers were born since 1949 and are thus free of the "political taint" of earlier times. There is no health checkup for admission to the TV university, distinguishing it from other institutions of higher learning. No tuition is charged for taking television courses, but students must purchase their own materials.

Television instructors are selected from Shanghai's regular higher education institutions—Futan University, the normal school, the three medical colleges, or the college of traditional Chinese medicine. The TV university program contains fewer courses than regular colleges and universities, and like the spare-time colleges there is no political or ideological training. At the end of each course, which lasts three to four years, all "organized" students must take an examination, and those who pass receive a diploma. The examination questions and requirements for graduation are not the same as those of regular higher education programs.

The television university uses the only Shanghai television channel operating during the daytime, Monday through Saturday. Six periods per day, morning and afternoon, are scheduled. Each course is offered four days per week. In the evening, two television channels operate, one offering courses from Peking's Television University. Additional educational programs for children are shown on Sunday mornings. Most production teams in people's communes have television sets, many factories have them, and increasing numbers of families now have them.

Radio instruction. Radio is used primarily to teach foreign languages, including English, French, and Japanese at both beginning and intermediate levels. At least 500,000 people in the Shanghai area are currently learning English via radio.

Correspondence courses. Correspondence programs are experimental now but will be expanded in the future. Some normal schools offer Chinese language courses by correspondence; universities offer bookkeeping and accounting courses; and courses in architectural engineering will begin soon. The teachers for these courses come from relevant faculties within formal institutions of higher education. Students take an examination after a three- or four-year program, and if they pass they are awarded a diploma. Chairman Hua has said recently that if correspondence students pass a unified state examination, they will get the same diploma as students completing a parallel program at a regular college or university.

July 21st workers' universities and May 7th agricultural colleges. The programs at these institutions are not as broad or intensive as those at regular colleges, but they are designed to respond to specific, immediate needs. The July 21st Workers' University at Machine Tool Plant No. 1 is open to workers in the grinding machine branch of industry from all over Shanghai. In general, students in July 21st workers' universities complete their courses, but the quality is uneven.

Assignments following graduation. Most spare-time education for older workers is intended to raise their "cultural level." Most technical education in industry is intended to improve performance in existing jobs. In agriculture, the training of agro-technicians often leads to assignments using newly-acquired skills. In addition, some graduates of July 21st workers' universities are promoted to engineering or other technical positions.

Role of spare-time education. Spare-time education seems to serve several purposes in China. First, the average education level of the people is still not very high, and spare-time education is an important way to raise it. Second, it is not possible to offer traditional university education to everyone who wants it. Third, there is a great need for technical experts in all fields, and the universities cannot produce them fast enough. Fourth, the Gang of Four interfered with the education system and lowered the qualifications of middle school graduates, thus increasing the need for further education. Finally, because of social and technological advances, there is a need for lifelong learning opportunities, even for college and university graduates.

Additional Observations

- (1) We were told that some methods fit some subjects better than others; for example, radio is better for language instruction and TV for science. (2) Modernization calls for an all-out effort at technical education. Spare-time programs are cheaper and easier to start than standard colleges and universities. (3) About one-quarter of postsecondary, degree-credit instruction in the Shanghai area (on an FTE basis) is of this "nontraditional" type. (4) One spare-time educational program calls for three days at work and three at school each week. — Clark Kerr

- Although we did not actually see much in the way of spare-time education activities, the things we heard about it, both in this conversation with Ms. Li and her colleagues and elsewhere, were impressive. There is clearly an intention in China to include learning opportunities in arrangements for work on a comprehensive basis. — Harold Howe II

- Because there was no entry to higher education for some years during and following the Cultural Revolution, there is a huge backlog of people who would like to enroll now. The nonformal system of higher education is in its infancy but is expected to expand rapidly, since the need for it is so enormous. — Alan Pifer

- Ms. Li said that Shanghai used to have a "key" normal school for East China; a college for middle school teachers; a school with advanced courses for teachers; a part-work, part study teachers' college to train technical school teachers; and a physical culture college. The gang consolidated them and combined enrollment dropped from 10,000 to 4,000. The institution now has 2,000 teachers and 4,000 other staff. — John Shea

- How about something like this for those Americans *over* 40? For women ready to move from career motherhood to career something else? For any adults wanting to change career courses? For those about to retire, or already retired? — Willard Wirtz

SAN-LIN PEOPLE'S COMMUNE, SHANGHAI COUNTY (May 2, 1978)

A people's commune is a basic unit of government organization in China as well as a production unit. Typically, each county has several communes. San-lin (Three Forests) People's Commune is situated in a densely populated area in Shanghai County, not far from the city. We had several hosts, representing the commune's leadership and staff.

The commune. "Mutual help groups," the prototype for modern communes, existed as early as 1952 in China. Land was individually owned but collectively organized and farmed. By 1954, land began to be owned by the collectives, but distribution of goods produced was still based on an individual's labor and land. Beginning in 1956, a "higher" socialist form of cooperativism began to develop, and the distribution principle became "to each according to his work."

The San-lin People's Commune was founded in September 1958 and currently has 20 production brigades with about 1,000 members each divided into 209 production teams with up to 100 workers each. The total population of the commune is 40,000, divided into 10,000 households with 20,000 able-bodied working adults. Many of the principles learned from Tachai were being put into practice at this commune (see Glossary, Section 3).

Resources and activities. San-lin Commune has about 5,600 acres of land under cultivation. The primary crops are grains, cotton, and vegetables, with smaller amounts of herbs and fruits. Three grain crops—two of rice and one of wheat—are grown each year. Much of the land is irrigated, and nearly all cultivation is by machines. Improvements are being made in water conservation, leveling of the land, and general agricultural mechanization.

In addition to its agricultural endeavors, the commune has 11 factories, 34 large tractors, 140 small tractors, and 25 pumping stations. Livestock includes 37,000 pigs and 150,000 chickens, ducks, and other fowl. The 11 factories are quite diversified in products and processes, including cement, soccer balls, farm tools, cutting machines, clothes, shoes, grain processing, and electroplating. Members of the commune, in addition to their agricultural or factory contributions, engage in several sideline occupations: embroidery, production of straw hats and bamboo chairs, animal husbandry, and fisheries. Individual households have small private plots for vegetable gardens.

Because of the temperate climate and the variety of crops grown by the commune, there is hardly any "slack" season, but if the weather is bad, the workers rest. Work points are awarded for work done, and these points determine the compensation of workers on production teams.

Each person is expected to work eight hours a day, six days a week; individuals can ask for additional time off, but they do not receive work points for this time.

Production and income. Both agricultural production and family income have been increasing year by year. For example, grain yield has increased 140 percent since 1957 and 240 percent since 1949. Vegetable production has increased 120 percent since 1957.

Last year, the average household income was 790 yuan. (It is not clear whether income from sideline occupations and private plots is included in this figure.) This is an increase of 30 percent over 1957 and 500 percent over 1949. Prices of consumer goods have not risen since Liberation (they may have fallen), so these figures understate the increase in real income. In spite of these advances, the commune still has goals for improvement: production increases are still uneven, and complete mechanization is still a distant goal.

There is considerable variation in family income, with the highest income about 2,000 yuan per year and the lowest between 100 and 200 yuan per year. Most of this difference is attributable to the number of able-bodied people in the household.* Another reason for disparate family incomes is that the production of the various production teams differs depending on the land available and other factors. For individual workers, there is no difference in pay between those who work in commune-run factories or in fields. Some skilled workers in commune factories earn a little more than others, as do doctors in the commune hospital and cadres (managers) at the commune level. However, "barefoot doctors" and cadres at the brigade and production team levels receive essentially the same pay as their fellow commune members.

Of a production team's gross earnings, about 30 percent covers the costs of production; 12 to 13 percent is divided between a public accumulation fund and a welfare fund; 4 percent is paid as a tax; and 1 percent pays for administration at the brigade level. The remaining 52 to 53 percent is distributed to workers in grain, cash, or other forms. Small advances of money and grain are drawn each month against the amount available for distribution to members of the production team.

Organization and leadership. There are three levels in the commune's organizational hierarchy: production team, brigade, and commune. Production team leaders must be approved by the brigade's leadership, and brigade leaders must be approved by commune leadership. Commune leaders are chosen every two years by representatives of all three levels, and must be approved by county leadership. We were told that at all levels of leadership selection, the preferences and opinions of commune members are first investigated.

At the lower levels of organization, each production team of about 100 workers has a management committee, usually composed of five to seven people including a team leader, two vice leaders, and an accountant. The accountant is the "work-point keeper" who keeps records for each member of the production team. The qualities sought in leaders at all levels include political consciousness, readiness and willingness to work, knowledge and experience in agricultural production, and trust of commune members.

Discipline or punishment for low production is avoided. If production is low for "objective" reasons, such as natural calamity, no discipline is called for. If low production results from "subjective" reasons—lack of skill, poor management, problems of technique, and so forth—brigade and production team leaders discuss the problem, ascertain the cause, and decide how to solve it.

Schools, work, and curriculum. The San-lin People's Commune operates 22 schools, including three middle schools offering both junior and senior middle school courses. Although attendance is not compulsory, over 99 percent of the commune's children attend primary and junior middle school near their home. We toured both a primary and a middle school; the middle school had about 1,400 students—of whom 120 were senior middle school students—and 130 staff members.

Primary and middle school provide general education for all, and courses include mathematics, language, chemistry, and agriculture. In the first four years of primary school, children are not required to work in the fields, although they may help out—for example picking up left-over grains during harvest—during after-school hours. Physical labor in the fields in a component of schooling for students in grades 5 and above. Middle school students spend 15 days each harvest season working in the fields—a total of 45 days per year.

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*Perhaps one-fourth of the difference in family incomes is attributable to factors other than the number of able-bodied workers in each family. It was not clear whether figures that were given to us included output from sideline production and private plots.

When questioned about the relationship between education and work, our hosts quoted Chairman Mao: "We make education serve proletarian politics and we combine education with productive labor"; they added, "General knowledge is required no matter what job you do." Regarding assignments upon completion of junior middle school, we were told that some students go on to senior middle school and higher education, but the majority become commune members. If there is a need for workers in factories outside the commune, some junior middle school graduates might be assigned to these factories.

Spare-time education for adults. The commune has a broadcasting center as well as a cultural center where people can spend time after work. The commune conducts short-term courses of one or two months duration to teach a particular subject or agricultural technique. In addition, some of the brigades operate agricultural schools, and all the brigades study politics or agricultural techniques in small groups one-half day per week.

Educated youth. Since 1968, 1,500 middle school graduates have been assigned to San-lin, 1,100 of whom are still there. (Of the remaining 400, about one-fifth went on to colleges and universities, a few have joined the PLA, and some have gone into factories when the need arose.) People's communes welcome these educated youth sent to the countryside to learn and work. Some of the sent-down youth become leading members of production teams and brigades. In fact, our host, a man in his late twenties, was born in one of the villages of the commune and was reassigned to San-lin after completing his education in Shanghai.

In 1977, more than 500 commune members applied to take the university entrance examination. Of that number, about 23 were admitted to college and over 30 were admitted to technical schools. Of the 23 who went to college, approximately half were sent-down youth from the city and the other half were sons and daughters of commune peasants.

Household visit. Some members of the Study Group visited a home and spoke with the wife of the three-generation family who lived in it. The family of eight consisted of husband, wife, five children, and the eldest son's wife. Of the five children, one farmed, one worked in a factory, one was a middle school student, one was preparing to take the university entrance examination, and one was a PLA member who attended a spare-time university in the commune. The daughter-in-law did embroidery at home. The wife of this family was especially proud of her children's educational attainments, noting that none of her brothers and sisters had had any education.

The two-story house was recently built, at a cost of about 5,000 yuan. The total living area was about 800 to 900 square feet, but only the upstairs was furnished. The main room had a sewing machine; several chairs, including three inexpensive ones made of bamboo; and a beautifully carved wooden bed, similar to a Western four-poster (these beds are very popular in China). The husband works in Shanghai and earns about 70 yuan per month. The total household income last year was 1,018 yuan, after deductions for grain and vegetables taken in advance. The family was currently saving money for additional furniture and a sewing machine.

Health care. Both traditional medicine—including acupuncture and herbs—and Western medicine are practiced on the commune. In the past, people here lacked local medical treatment, but now there is a complex medical treatment network within the commune. The commune as a whole has a hospital; each production brigade has a clinic with three "barefoot doctors" (one skilled in delivering babies); and each production team has its own barefoot doctor. Health technicians at the hospital are trained at specialized technical schools; the remaining health workers obtain most of their training on the job.

We visited both the hospital and one of the clinics. By Western standards, the facilities were rudimentary: floors were dirty, and windows were open in the operating room. No inpatients were in evidence during our visit.

Additional Observations

- (1) The workers in this commune, and as far as I could observe in other rural areas, worked only moderately hard; there is plenty of labor available, and the villages and fields were kept in excellent condition. (2) Material incentives to work are great—in this commune, a 10-to-1 spread in household income determined by the number of workers, the skill and effort of the individual worker, and the productivity of the particular team or brigade. About half of the output of this commune goes to the state and to the commune as a collectivity, and half goes to the peasants directly. This is about the same distribution as formerly between the landlord and the peasants, but much more is returned to the peasants by the state and the commune in the form of education, health care, electricity, and so on. (3) Communes apparently trade their workshop and factory products with each other. Some of the products also enter the general stream of commerce. — CLARK KERR

- (1) Educated youth sent to this commune from the nearby city of Shanghai are clearly in a better position than some others. Most of them have bicycles and can return to the city on holidays. (2) We noticed loudspeakers installed on posts in the fields—apparently used for both motivation and indoctrination of workers. (3) We found the system of governance of the commune an elusive topic with much emphasis on meetings and discussions to achieve consensus and little on formal decision making by vote. While the role of Communist Party members in this elusive system is not discussed much, it is probably a dominant feature in making actual decisions about who gets major committee assignments and other matters. Actually the elaborate and somewhat informal system of committees and disucssions may not be unlike the operation of the Democratic Party in New York City, where all sorts of important matters are really decided behind the facade of the official forms of government by those with varying degrees of status in the party. — HAROLD HOWE II

- The San-lin People's Commune impressed me as an efficiently run and highly productive enterprise. I also felt that the people who lived on the commune had to work tremendously hard and led a rather circumscribed existence, as peasants always have in rural China. The people here, however, had economic security, adequate health care, and education for their children, none of which were available to peasants in pre-Liberation days. — ALAN PIFER

- There is a lot of interrelating education and work here in terms of organized programs. But the big point goes beyond this. James Coleman has said of the youth transition problem in the U.S. that "the capitalistic system has no natural place in it for an interim period between full dependence (school, that is) and complete independence depending on self-support." We have separate institutional systems for education and for employment, making no institutional provision for the gap. In China, in contrast, there is only one system and set of institutions; the state is both educator and employer, and there is no "interim period." — WILLARD WIRTZ

FENG-HUO SEMICONDUCTOR PARTS FACTORY, SHANGHAI
(May 2, 1978)

Our host during this visit was Mr. Yu Chia-chang, the responsible person for the factory, who was accompanied by two cadres, two veteran workers, and a young man recently assigned to the factory as a technician.

The factory. In 1958, at the time of the Great Leap Forward, 32 housewives in this Shanghai neighborhood were inspired to contribute to society. They came together with hammers and other tools from home and began making wooden boxes, which were the only product of their enterprise until 1969. By 1969 there were over 100 workers at the factory, and they felt they could make a greater contribution by working on some other product. Local authorities encouraged them to produce electronic parts, which were badly needed by the state. Ten workers went to other factories to learn special techniques. The others, with the help of their husbands (many of whom worked in large Shanghai factories) began making equipment. Both wooden boxes and semiconductor parts were produced through 1976.

Presently the factory employs 347 people, 85 percent of whom are women. It produces polished silicon chips, silicon single crystal chips, field-effect transistors, and related items. The immediate goals of the factory are to raise the quality of its products and reduce costs.

Feng-huo Factory is a collectively owned enterprise. It was not built with money from the state but solely with profits from the original wooden-box production.

Profits from collectively owned enterprises are divided equally between the state and the factory. The factory's share is reinvested for modernization or expansion.

Organization and supervision. The factory has three production lines and 25 production teams. Each production team has a group head as well as a "person in charge" in each of the following areas: political study, quality, safety, statistics, and livelihood. (The person in charge of livelihood looks out for health problems, economic difficulties, environmental hygiene, and so forth.) These "people in charge" perform their special tasks in addition to their regular full-time work on the production lines.

In addition to production teams, the factory has seven groups that perform managerial, administrative, and technical functions. The seven groups are production plans, purchasing and supply, technical, mechanics and equipment, finance, logistics, and political work. Forty-six people are assigned to these sections, all but six of whom are women.

Training, knowledge, and skills. In 1969, when the box factory workers decided to make electronic parts, they had no knowledge of the subject. The 10 workers who were sent to other factories to learn found that production of semiconductor equipment required a lot of education, a lot of equipment, and young, energetic workers. Almost all of the workers at Feng-huo, in contrast, had very little education (many had just become literate), were used to simple equipment, and were (on the average) 48 years of age. They were fearful of making a major change, and anxious about their ability to learn new skills.

In spite of these obstacles, the workers decided to move on with their plans. We spoke with Ms. Tu, a veteran worker at the factory, who had been one of the 10 workers selected to learn new techniques. (In a private conversation later, Ms. Tu said she had been a beggar in the neighborhood prior to Liberation.) Ms. Tu's task was to learn about the production of ionized water, which in turn required reading a meter with English letters. She knew only a few Chinese characters, but she looked for similarities and differences and linked the English alphabet with what she already knew. (She thought of the letter "C" as an open door; the letter "D" became a door closed to the opposite side; the letter "E" was seen as the right side of a Chinese character; "M" and "W" were three legs pointed up or down.) Ms. Tu and the other nine workers chosen to study the new techniques spent two months mastering these techniques, and finally produced their first product, a triode, which they completed in less than the time anticipated for the task. From that point, the factory went on to produce its own integrated circuits.

The factory has found it relatively easy to produce semiconductor parts but difficult to raise the quality and reduce costs, both of which require more advanced technical knowledge. Several methods have been used to promote greater expertise in the work force:

1. Since 1972, middle school graduates have been assigned to the factory; 115 of them were there when we visited.
2. Three workers have studied at the Shanghai Spare-Time Workers' University. A graduate of that institution heads the factory's technical group.
3. Workers have been sent to spare-time technical schools operated by the Shanghai district in which the factory is situated. Usually these workers study three days and work three days. Fields of study include engineering drawing, circuits, and new technology.
4. Some workers have attended night school operated by the district. They meet in buildings used as middle schools during the day; and the purpose of this study is usually to raise their general knowledge level.
5. Some workers attend special lectures sponsored by a trade union in a factory.
6. Two workers have audited courses at regular universities.
7. One graduate of Shanghai University of Science and Technology was recently assigned to the factory. He is the only graduate of a regular institution of higher education placed there. (College graduates usually are not assigned to collectively-owned enterprises.)
8. Some time ago several undergraduates at Shanghai Teachers College who had studied about semiconductors came to work for one- to three-month periods at Feng-huo Factory. The workers welcomed them and invited them to give lessons.

The factory pays travel and tuition of those sent to schools and colleges. Workers are chosen to attend according to the tasks to be learned. In the case of design work, for example, a worker with five years of primary schooling was sent. For finishing work and wrapping, an older worker was sent. For certain technical chores, bright young workers are selected. Turnover because of overqualification is said not to occur.

Wages, hours, and retirement policy. Wages in the Feng-huo Factory are about the same for all; there are no fixed skill and wage gradations in the factory (only state enterprises have specified grades). The average wage is 45 to 48 yuan per month, with a low of 36 yuan for beginning apprentices and a high of 70 yuan for the highest paid workers. The general national wage increases announced recently will also apply to this factory. For historic reasons, bonuses are paid twice a year at Feng-huo, but they are not determined by whether or not the factory had an especially good year. Profits are not shared among the workers, but are either taxed or reinvested.

The work week at the factory is 48 hours: eight hours per day, six days per week. Two hours a week are devoted to political and technical training—one hour during working hours and one after.

Retirees receive 50 percent of their most recent wage (compared with 70 percent for those who retire from state-operated factories). Retirement age is 55 for women and 60 for men, but workers may continue beyond these ages if they wish and if they are able to do the work.

Influence of the Gang of Four. During the briefing, Mr. Yu indicated that under the Gang of Four the factory was unable to raise quality and reduce costs because revolutionary enthusiasm was overemphasized and there was a general neglect of scientific method. Workers were afraid to organize technical studies for fear of being accused of "taking the bourgeois road." Young workers under the gang's influence did not work well and did not abide by the rules and regulations of the factory. To ensure high-quality products, clean conditions are needed: caps should be worn; hands must be washed; dirt and dust must be controlled; food should not be eaten at the workplace. Since the gang was deposed, the factory has tried to make up for lost time.

Additional Observations

- (1) While the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) was generally an economic disaster, this and many other continuing enterprises growing out of local initiative did result. (2) Here and elsewhere, the internal strains during the Gang of Four period must have been very intense and destructive of work discipline—young versus old, radicals versus moderates, poorly motivated versus highly motivated, some workers versus all persons in supervisory position. — CLARK KERR

- Much of the work in this place is very fine work under microscopes. There is careful quality control and a real effort to run a dust-free plant (we had to take our shoes off to enter). It is a small and going concern making something China needs. There is almost no labor turnover and there is obviously good morale in the place. — HAROLD HOWE II

SHANGHAI SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND ON SUNG CHIAO ROAD

(May 2, 1978)

Six members of the Study Group visited this school for the blind. Our principal host there was Ms. Chou Man-li.

The school. Every province and big city in China has a school for the blind. This school has been in operation for about 30 years. In the 1950s, there were more blind children in the area than the school could handle, and some students were turned away. Since Liberation, however, there has been a general feeling that blind people should receive all possible help—both medical and educational/vocational—in becoming productive workers. At the present, the school offers courses for blind children between the ages of 9 and 18—in other words, primary and junior middle school education.

In the 1960s, about 45 children were enrolled (this included all blind children in the area in need of education), but the incidence of blindness caused by childhood diseases has declined because of better medical care. By the early 1970s, there were only 30 students. Last year only 12 to 15 blind children could be found in the entire district, and a majority of these have been blind since birth. Our hosts expressed the hope that the school can expand its services to both younger and older blind children and expand its courses to the senior middle school level.

Curriculum. Classroom work at the school includes braille, academic subjects, and music. Vocational training takes place in three areas: a workshop where buttons are produced; a print shop; and a room where blind students learn (from a blind teacher) how to apply finger massage techniques. Crafts are also part of the educational program, although we did not see any crafts instruction in progress.

The use of a cane is taught as part of physical education, and students also learn how to use their other senses—hearing, smell, touch—with more awareness. Seeing-eye dogs are not used as part of mobility training.

Assignments following graduation. All graduates are assigned work, usually near their homes or in factories designed especially for the deaf and blind. Some especially gifted graduates of the school may go on to a music conservatory, but most are assigned to factories for further training.

Additional Observations

- Beginning school at the age of 9 suggests that the child is to adjust to the school program rather than vice versa; this was once a practice in the United States and still exists in places. — John Shea

- This was a poor school, economically speaking, according to U.S. standards, but they are getting the job done. The concern for human beings, their rehabilitation, and development comes through warmly to the observer. Among the staff there is a thirst for learning better ways of accomplishing what they are aiming for. — Jane Wirtz

Note: The report on Shanghai School for the Blind on Sung Chiao Road is based on notes of Jane Wirtz, one of the Study Group members who visited the school.

WORKERS' CULTURAL PALACE, SHANGHAI
(May 2, 1978)

There are 11 workers' cultural palaces in the Shanghai area—one for each district and one for the municipality as a whole. All of them are financed by the state, and they resemble large, inner-city YMCAs (or YWCAs) in the United States. Workers are recommended by their employers for membership in workers' cultural palaces.

We visited the palace run for the municipality of Shanghai during the evening, when all the activities are conducted. This palace serves about 8,000 people every day, and is operated in an old hotel building. The first floor, which was devoted to various industrial exhibits, was almost deserted. The second floor was devoted to games, and was filled with workers and their families playing chess, checkers, Go, an "ice-hockey" game, skeet shooting, and ping-pong. The third floor had a large lending library (books may be checked out for three weeks) and several reading rooms and classrooms. This floor, like the second, was crowded, mostly with young men. Both classes and lectures were in session during our visit. The fourth floor was devoted to the performing arts, and we saw a ballet, a mixed chorus, and two orchestras (one with Chinese instruments, one with Western). All of the performers wore ordinary street clothes and were clearly amateurs, although some of the leaders seemed to be professionals. The tone of the entire workers' cultural palace was one of plain good fun.

Additional Observations

- (1) The clientele appeared older than the clientele one would customarily find in a YMCA in the U.S. (2) This palace had something of the "feel" that some activities were on special display for our benefit. — Clark Kerr

- All these people were amateurs, wearing their ordinary clothing, practicing or rehearsing in make-shift accommodations, none of it being staged for our benefit—that is, they were there on a Tuesday night in May for their own purposes, not to entertain us, though that they did as well! — Alfred B. Fitt

- I thought a lot of people were having a good time in this place, which is paid for by a small percentage of payrolls put up by the government and turned over to the union that operates each palace. — HAROLD HOWE II

- Factories recommend workers for membership in Cultural Palaces, particularly those they believe will bring some benefit back to other workers. — ALAN PIFER

SHANGHAI MACHINE TOOL PLANT NO. 1
(May 3, 1978)

Note: The report on this visit is based on diaries provided by Alfred Fitt and Harold Howe II.

Our principal host at this factory was Mr. Lin, secretary of the administrative office, who was accompanied by the principal of the plant's technical school, the principal of the July 21st Workers' University, and Mr. Soong, a technician.

The factory. Before 1949, the factory produced farm tools such as hoes and rakes. Since developing into a machine tool plant, it has produced more than 300 kinds of grinding machines (machine tools). The factory currently has 6,000 workers and staff members, 10 workshops, a grinding-machine research institute, three schools, several nurseries, a day-care center, and recreation facilities. The three schools include a July 21st workers' university, a technical school, and a spare-time workers' school. (We visited the first two, and detailed accounts are given later in this section.) The factory produces about 172,000 machine tools of 50 or 60 different types per year. We were shown what was said to be the largest grinding machine in the world, guided by a laser beam and capable of producing items with extremely close tolerances. (This machine was recently installed and was not yet operational.)

The management and direction of the plant is under the auspices of the CCP. Top managers include one director, five deputy directors, and 18 section chiefs. Workers serve on management committees and are aware of financial and other problems of the plant. Managers learn informally from each other and through participation as workers on management committees. We were told that managers receive no formal training.

One director is in charge of technical and engineering work; another takes care of personnel matters; a third is in charge of labor unions and welfare. Trade unions operate under the CCP. They are not involved in bargaining but they do organize the work force to study political works; promote emulation of national labor "pace setters"; develop campaigns to praise workers in advanced units; provide education on internationalism; organize sports teams; show films; and operate the plant's swimming pool.

Of the plant's 6,000 employees, 522 comprise the technical work force, and nearly half of these received their training as workers. Since Liberation, the plant has trained more than 500 technicians, 200 of whom are still working here. (Technicians are junior engineers who engage in design work, improve techniques, and perform other engineering functions.)

July 21st Workers' University. After 1949, Chairman Mao directed Chinese enterprises to train technicians from among the workers. In 1953, the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant trained technicians through short-term courses and through design teams where workers learned alongside veteran technicians. Design work was not a concern at the time because the major emphasis was on copying foreign models. Then in 1957, Mao began encouraging less dependence on Russian practices and more self-reliance and told supervisors at the factory to design their own machine tools. In 1963, the plant began operating a spare-time workers' school with secondary- and college-level technical courses to train its own technicians who were badly needed at the time. On July 21, 1968, Mao praised the machine tool plant for its progress in training technicians from among the workers and encouraged other plants to follow the same road. To implement this directive, the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant initiated its July 21st Workers' University that year, and the school became the model for other workers' universities.

Technicians are trained among the workers in three ways: (1) workers with prior technical experience are selected; (2) workers are placed on three-in-one design teams composed of workers, technicians, and cadres; and (3) study in spare-time workers' schools is authorized. Since 1968, four classes of students have passed through the July 21st University in three- to four-year programs. The first class was restricted to workers from Machine Tool Plant No. 1 and was devoted to study of the design and construction of machine tools. The second, third, and fourth classes have contained workers both from Machine Tool Plant No. 1 and from various other tool plants and factories in the Shanghai area. Admission to the first three classes was based on recommendation by work units, acceptance by the July 21st Workers' University, and approval by the CCP. Beginning with the fourth class, which is still in progress, applicants must pass an examination and, in addition, should be activists capable of leadership, middle school graduates, have at least three years of experience, be under 30 years of age, and be in good health.

The curriculum varies, but generally 65 percent of the students' work is in technical subjects. Courses include mathematics, mechanics, mechanical drawing, hydraulics, electricity, designing, physical science, and English. (English is included because it is necessary to read books in English to keep abreast of advanced technology.) All students are enrolled full time; they receive their most recent wage and remain eligible for regular fringe benefits.

Wherever graduates of the July 21st Workers' University are assigned, they perform technical work, except for those who become managers. The first class of the July 21st university had 10 graduates assigned to the Grinding Machine Research Institute at Shanghai Machine Tool Plant No. 1 (including Mr. Soong, one of our hosts). Another 20 to 30 graduates of the first class work to improve techniques in different workshops; the remainder have been assigned to various administrative or management positions.

The technical school. Shanghai Machine Tool Plant's technical school contains about 500 students—400 in a two-year program and 100 in a three-year program. All are middle school graduates who are receiving preemployment training—that is, they are not experienced workers. Students in the technical school receive no wages but their room and board are paid by the state. Graduates are assigned to this factory or to other plants with similar production techniques.

Technical education and its financing in Shanghai. Most large factories have technical schools, and others are operated by government bureaus and commercial departments. Altogether in Shanghai there are approximately 600 such schools with 35,000 students.

Professional and technical schools receive some funds from the factory or government bureau that operates them; but most are nearly self-sufficient from the sale of their own products. In some plants, technical school students work in the factory itself, helping produce its normal goods. In others, as was the case with the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant No. 1, students work in special workshops—guided by instructors—to produce small parts for larger machine tools.

Actual work usually accounts for about one-half the student's time.

Additional Observations

- (1) This factory is a showplace because of its early efforts at developing technicians and managers from within, and it has become a model for other July 21st universities. In a nation with an underdeveloped educational system, such advancement from within can be of great importance, and it also promotes equality of opportunity among the people. Advancement from within is aided by worker participation in decisions about plant management, whereby potential leaders can be spotted and encouraged; training on the job; and the more formal educational programs. Even with these procedures, only half the experts (technicians and managers) had been trained from within. (2) My observation of this factory on the morning we visited it was that there were many idle workers and idle machines, and little output; that the plant lay-out was inefficient; and that it was badly managed. (3) The Gang of Four, we were told, had sabotaged production in this plant and this may help explain the conditions just noted. Followers of the gang opposed the educational efforts inside the plant as selfish efforts of individuals to advance themselves, the practicing of "egoism," and following the "bourgeois road" of the "expert." One of the heroes of the gang was the student who turned in a "blank paper" instead of answers on an examination. He was held up for emulation in this plant. — CLARK KERR

- There were many idle machines and persons evident as we walked through parts of the plant, and I assume we were not taken to areas where such problems predominate. Very little of the most modern machinery was operating, and I got the impression that they had acquired some apparatus that they had not yet learned to operate. At the same time, however, the seriousness of the education enterprise is evident. — Harold Howe II

- All in all, this was only a moderately interesting and not very rewarding visit. The plant itself was not impressive. Indeed, according to others in the party, it illustrated well what a sorry state Chinese industry is in. Furthermore, the briefing we received was perfunctory, to say the least, and our recpetion a bit on the cool side. I suspect this plant, because of the publicity given it by Mao's famous speech there, has had entirely too many groups of foreign visitors foisted on it and is finding the business of receiving them a big nuisance. — Alan Pifer

- (1) New, short-duration programs have been added to the July 21st Program recently: electric circuitry and automation (two years) and hydraulics (one and one-half years). (2) Expecting technical schools to be self-supporting (or nearly so) could be a serious barrier to expansion. — John Shea

METER AND INSTRUMENT PARTS FACTORY, SHANGHAI
(May 3, 1978)

Note: This report on the Meter and Instrument Parts Factory, Shanghai is based on notes of Jane Wirtz.

The Shanghai Meter and Instrument Parts Factory is what we would call—but the Chinese do not—a workshop that provides special opportunities for the handicapped. Founded in 1959 and employing only 12 people at that time, the factory now employs 654 people: 205 are blind, 155 are deaf-mutes, and 32 are handicapped in one way or another. (As was the case at the school for the blind and the school for deaf-mutes, no mention was made here of multihandicapped people, especially those with severe mental or emotional problems.)

The original 12 workers in 1959 were engaged in producing only two things: orange oil (used for flavoring or exported for use in perfume) and soap oil. Both products were made entirely by hand. In 1960, the leadership decided that the labor intensity in the factory was too great and that machines should be introduced. This led to three things: The workers were frightened by the machines, the quality of the products deteriorated, and the quotas could not be filled.

Sighted workers were sent in to help solve the problems. They showed the blind workers the structure of the machines so that their fear would lessen. Technical processes had to be learned and the fear of heat had to be overcome. Blind workers were urged not to be fearful "for the sake of the People." "Have Courage" became the byword in the factory. In spite of these efforts, often only half the quota could be met. In order to remedy this situation, helpers taught handicapped workers the rhythm of their work and showed them how to speed up their production by counting each and every movement.

Experimentation in this area has continued for 20 years, and studies have been made in conjunction with other factories to determine what jobs blind people can do that are currently being done by nonhandicapped workers. (In the United States, sheltered workshops for the handicapped take on similar subcontract work.)

There are currently five main departments in the factory: plastics, hardware, machine repair, machine maintenance, and stamping. We watched a number of these activities, and although we found the noise level very high, the work was not too different from what one might find in a sheltered workshop for the handicapped in this country.

China seems to be making every effort to bring its physically handicapped citizens into the mainstream. It is good to know that in China, where there are more people than jobs, there is the kind of respect for human life that is exhibited in this factory.

Additional Observation

- Because there is so much work to be done, so little of it is mechanized, and the system is socialist, I would wager that China does as well as (or better) than we do in America in finding work for handicapped persons to do. — John Shea

SANDALWOOD FAN HANDICRAFT FACTORY, SOOCHOW

(May 4, 1978)

This handicraft factory in Soochow is situated in a spacious compound of buildings surrounded by gardens. The factory was set up in 1955, ''pursuant to the teachings of Chairman Mao,'' as a cooperative enterprise. Currently, the factory employs several hundred workers who, each year, produce 200,000 sandalwood fans, 2 million hand-painted silk fans, and smaller numbers of fans made of peacock feathers or ivory. Most of these fans are exported to Southeast Asia and Japan, and demand exceeds supply.

The fans are made almost entirely by hand, requiring at the beginning use of small fret saws. Meticulous attention is given to artistic detail, both in the cutting of the sandalwood and the hand painting of the silk. The sawdust left over from production of the sandalwood fans is used in sandalwood soap and as a fragrance (presumably after rendering the oil).

The sandalwood fan technique is 400 years old, and silk-fan production goes back at least 1,000 years. Both arts languished prior to Liberation, becoming only spare-time crafts in the home. Mao revitalized these crafts, but the Gang of Four discouraged production of fans because of their heavily classical tradition. They insisted that the motifs at least be changed to portray ''flying to the moon.''

SOOCHOW EMBROIDERY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

(May 4, 1978)

Note: This report is based on notes of Caroline Service and the Wirtzes.

The Embroidery Research Institute of Soochow is housed in a comfortable old villa. Spacious, well-lighted rooms with high ceilings open through french windows onto courtyards lush with native plants and trees. Our host was Ms. Chien Shu-yu, director of the institute.

The institute. Embroidery in Soochow has a history of over 1,000 years, but before Chairman Mao's ''Hundred Flowers Campaign'' it was a dying art, usually a sideline family occupation. There were 18 basic stitches, and the embroidery was largely limited to quilt covers, pillow cases, and cushions. The women of Soochow who did embroidery organized in 1949 and the institute itself was established in 1957 to elevate the embroidery and weaving arts and to train qualified successors to the current artisans. During the Cultural Revolution, ''three-in-one combinations'' of workers, technicians, and cadres traveled around the country to look at beautiful scenery, which is now portrayed in the institute's work.

The Gang of Four was mentioned only in response to our questioning. Ms. Chien said that the four had no direct impact on the institute but that artists in general were inhibited. A famous painter in Kiangsu Province had been criticized for painting a rooster with a big eye and a high tail. It was said to represent a capitalist treading on the people (represented by the flowers on a plum tree) and should have been shown in a cage. Rock gardens and other motifs were also criticized during this period, and revolutionary themes were encouraged, such as representations of Marx or Mao or the great bridge at Nanking.

Presently, the Embroidery Research Institute employs about 200 workers and staff organized into three departments: design, embroidery, and hand-woven silk tapestry. The number of stitches has been increased from 18 to 50, and popular subjects portrayed in stitchery are hills, rivers, figures, flowers, kittens, and goldfish.

On our walking tour of the workshops, we found everyone working diligently on a variety of projects. In addition to familiar forms of embroidery we saw an impressionistic piece with large stitches that was a copy of a brown-and-white photograph of Karl Marx; several two-sided embroideries of kittens and fish; and several large pieces, already over a year in production, which were still far from completion because of their size and intricacy.

Selection and training of workers. All workers at the institute are graduates of junior or senior middle school and all have passed an entrance examination. Two groups of young people are selected: girls who are good at drawing and fine arts in school and young people without these skills but with aptitude to learn them. New workers enter as apprentices and go through three years of basic training, most of which consists of simple embroidery done in a special workshop. It takes five to eight years to learn how to do the finer work. Most of the veteran workers are women, although there are some men, especially in the design department. The institute is affiliated with three factories, and veteran workers, in addition to teaching apprentices at the institute, go to these factories to teach workers there.

Wages and benefits. The average pay is over 50 yuan per month. Embroiderers and weavers receive from 30 yuan for apprentices to 80 for veterans; designers receive over 90 yuan. Regular fringe benefits include movie tickets, free medical care, maternity leave of 56 days with pay, and retirement pay.

Eye care. All apprentice workshops have eye exercise charts on the walls, and every two hours the women have a short break for eye exercises. Eye problems were quite common in the old days, but these exercises help conserve eyesight, and only some of the veteran workers wear glasses.

Additional Observations

- This and the other workshops we saw of smaller production enterprises seemed to me to be reasonably well managed and productive. — Clark Kerr

- This embroidery institute has a high standing for the quality of its work and sets the standards for other embroidery centers in China. While there is no question about the exquisite nature of the embroidery turned out here, I was disappointed in much of the design: too many stylized kittens like those on greeting cards for old ladies in the U.S. — Harold Howe II

- The institute's function is to keep alive a traditional Chinese art form—a remarkably difficult, delicate, and intricate kind of embroidery. The workers do not use anything so coarse as silk thread. They take such thread and shred it until they get 48 gossamer strands from the standard thread—strands so thin they float in the air—and somehow, without any seeming difficulty, such a strand is threaded through a needle and in time becomes part of a zillion-threads-per-square-inch embroidery. — Alfred Fitt

- Admittedly the designs were disappointing, but the craft is beautiful: two-sided embroidery on hand-loomed silk and so many different embroidery stitches. As in the fan factory, these enterprises are attempts to preserve old art forms and simultaneously serve the state. Both are led by females and are clearly well run. — Lois Rice

- There is no sweatshop feeling about either the fan factory or the embroidery institute. Here we viewed the revival of crafts in the best sense. There are sure to be more and more sandalwood fans and double embroideries all over the world, because the Chinese have the time and patience for this exquisite craftsmanship and because the items are highly exportable. — Jane and Willard Wirtz

NANKING PRIMARY SCHOOL, SERVING HSIAO-YING DISTRICT

(May 5, 1978)

Our host at Nanking Primary School was Ms. Wang, the vice chairman of the school's revolutionary committee and vice principal of the school. Ms. Wang began teaching in 1961 after graduation from a teacher's college, and came to this school in 1972 from another primary school.

The school. Nanking Primary School was established in 1952 with 220 students and 13 teachers. It presently has 540 students and 31 teachers. There are 11 primary classes (the first five years of school) and two junior middle school classes (the first three years of middle school). Middle schools in the Nanking area are very crowded, and this primary school had sufficient space for two junior middle school classes. Classes average 45 to 50 students each in spite of the apparently high teacher-student ratio because there are two teachers per class—some teach in the morning and some in the afternoon.

Curriculum. The primary school curriculum consists of politics, Chinese language and literature, mathematics, physical culture, painting, and general knowledge (covering mainly natural science, including physiology). Some pupils also study foreign languages on their own, learning either from language instruction on the radio or from parents who happen to know a foreign language. The teaching of English usually begins in the first year of junior middle school, but throughout China there is a new policy of beginning foreign-language instruction in the third year of primary school. This policy is being implemented as fast as teachers become available. Students at the Nanking Primary School learn a little about the geography and population of the United States in a geography class.

The school week is divided into 26 teaching periods, each 45 minutes long. A 10-minute break separates periods and there is a three-hour rest at mid-day. In addition to the regular classes, two 30-minute periods per week are set aside for after-school activities, and homework is a daily routine. Students in grades 1 through 3 do about 40 minutes of homework daily; those in grades 4 and 5 do about one hour. Pupils are also given assignments to be completed during vacation time.

The goal of education at this school, as at others we had visited, is moral, intellectual, and physical development based on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. The staff teaches the Five Loves—love of leaders, party, science and technology, labor, and laboring people—and advances the Three Goods—study well, work well, and be fit. "Egoism" is kept from being a problem by conducting ideological work among those who are bright. They are made to understand that they are doing well because they have had the help of teachers and classmates and are advised not to be conceited but to learn from others. The staff teaches, "We study for the revolution, not for self."

Teaching methods concentrate on developing an interest in learning. The children are taught to think; rote learning is avoided; and encouragement is given to productive labor. Trips are taken to communes and factories to improve student motivation, and pupils organize their own study groups and preview their work before class.

Nanking Primary School follows the usual principle in China of combining education with productive labor and having education serve proletarian politics. Primary school students spend one period a week in physical labor and junior middle school students two periods per week. The school has its own small vegetable garden and a small factory that produces loudspeakers, teaching materials, and paper bags. Students occasionally work on nearby work brigades during breaks from school. The main purpose of the work was said to be teaching students to "love labor as the most important thing."

Individual differences. The needs of both slow and bright children are recognized. Slow students receive "ideological work," learning from revolutionary heroes to be brave and overcome difficulties. They also receive individual tutoring every day after school from teachers and bright students. Ms. Wang told us that it is most important not to discriminate against the slower students so that they will feel the warmth of their friends and classmates. Bright students receive extra work and are organized into special competitions. Some are permitted to skip grades, and they have access to childrens' palaces and other after-school activities to stimulate them.

Family, school, and the community. The school stays in touch with parents and with the Neighborhood Revolutionary Committee. One or two parent-teacher meetings are held each term, and parents are expected to encourage their children to do their homework each night. To strengthen the tie between school and community and to support Marxist and Leninist moral teaching, the school invites old workers, peasants, and revolutionary cadres to visit the school and tell the children about pre-Liberation days.

Administration. Education officials at the district level determine the general curriculum and furnish teaching materials. Detailed plans are drawn up by individual schools. Occasional district-wide examinations are given at the schools, in part to judge school performance. Staff members at low-scoring schools receive lectures from teachers at high-scoring schools, visit those schools, and discuss the nature of their problems and how to solve them.

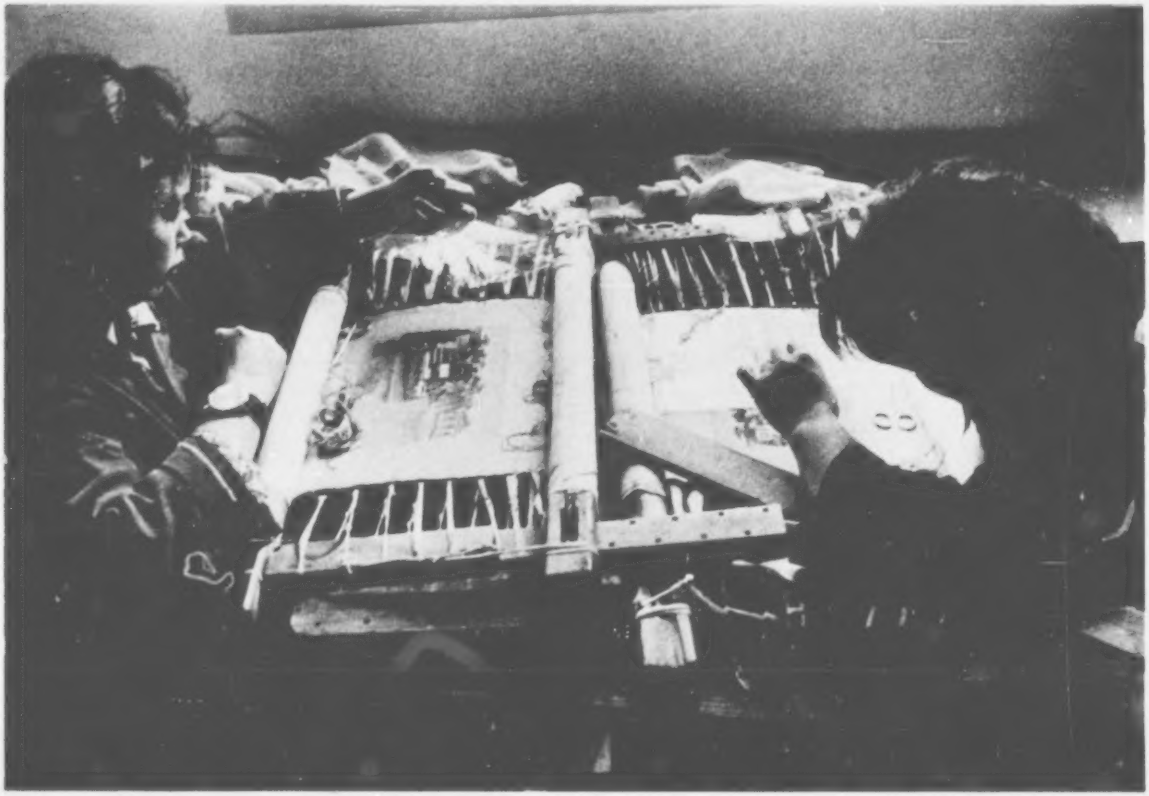
Child health. Physical culture is stressed at the primary school. In addition to morning exercises, two class periods per week are used for physical education, including soccer, basketball, swimming, mountain climbing, and sports meets.

Special attention is given to eyesight. Eye exercises are performed five minutes each morning between classes. (We noted that very few students wore glasses.) In addition, teachers pay attention to desk posture to be sure students are not too close to their work. The students also change seats weekly so they will not always be looking at the front of the room from the same angle and distance.

The school has an immunization program, and general check-ups—including vision and hearing tests—are given twice a term.

Additional Observations

- (1) The garden (farm) some of us looked at would not meet the vegetable needs of one family, and no one was at work in it. (2) We were told that a major theme of the school currently was to "repudiate the evil influence of the Gang of Four," which meant, among other things, the restoration of discipline in the classroom, which, here and elsewhere we visited, was excellent. — Clark Kerr
- An impressive if somewhat rigid school where kids work hard and play hard. It is a powerful institution for indoctrinating youngsters with the attitudes and values of the country's political leadership. We watched vigorous calisthenics during a recess done to shouted priases of Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua. From what I saw of actual classes, I would say there is considerable rote learning and not much recognition of individual differences, despite declarations to the contrary. But it is clearly a place where much real learning takes place in both skills and attitudes. — Harold Howe II
- General atmosphere of the school seemed good and I was left with the impression that it is an effective educational institution, despite its generally old-fashioned teaching methods. — Alan Pifer



- About 90 percent of the kids we are watching seem to have a real zest for what they are doing and to be taking considerable satisfaction and even joy from it. A roomful of hands goes up in response to every question from teachers who seem to be putting their whole selves into a constantly smiling, encouraging kind of teaching. — Willard Wirtz

NANKING ART COLLEGE
(May 6, 1978)

Our hosts at this art college were Mr. Fong, a member of the College Revolutionary Committee, and Mr. Chen Tai-yue, professor of traditional Chinese painting.

The college. The Nanking Art College was closed from 1966 to 1973 and only recently began to accept students again. Currently there are 280 students and a staff of 430, of whom 140 are regular teachers. Next year the college will accept 190 new undergraduates and 20 postgraduate students, and in four years the student body should be about 400.

The college has two departments: the music department includes vocal, piano and accordion, national music, and orchestra; the fine arts department includes oil painting, traditional Chinese painting, dying and weaving design, and decoration. In response to the needs of the economy, the college is expected to train artists in rural areas and in factories, and short courses are offered for this purpose.

College admissions and the examination system. Students are admitted to the college via a three-level examination procedure. Those who wish to attend the college first take a preliminary county examination. Those with high scores on this test take a prefecture-level examination. These exams are reviewed by an enrollment committee from the college, which chooses the 240 best applicants to take the college-level exam. Last year, of 12,000 applicants for admission to the music department, 72 finally passed the college-level exam and were admitted. The

At the Soochow Embroidery Research Institute, about 200 workers strive to elevate the embroidery and weaving arts that have a history of at least 1000 years in the area. At Nanking Primary School, above right, the children exhibited the strict discipline and rapt attention seen throughout China's schools. At right, Mr. Chen Tai-yue stands by his painting like the one that was criticized during the reign of the Gang of Four as representing a capitalist treading on the people.

examinations cover general knowledge in politics and Chinese language and literature as well as the person's artistic specialty. Applicants in music must read a score and play an instrument or sing. Those applying in fine arts show a piece of their work and draw impromptu.

Curriculum and work. All students take classes in political science, physical culture, foreign language, and Chinese literature. Their specialized study in their own field of endeavor is conducted by individual coaching. Each program lasts four years, but the actual duration of study for each student is determined by fixed proficiency levels required for graduation. The college is planning an orchestra troupe in the music department, which will give students an opportunity to work while attending school.

During our tour of the art college we were treated to several performances: a solo performance of a classic tune—"Ambush on All Sides"—on the pipa, the traditional Chinese lute; a chamber orchestra performance (by young teachers) of a tune in memory of Chairman Mao; a freshman piano recital of Chopin and Beethoven; and a 16-year-old freshman woman singing exercises and songs in a beautiful and powerful contralto voice.

Assignments upon graduation. As is the case with all students, graduates of the art college are assigned according to the state plan. Most music graduates go to organizations that create or perform music; art graduates go to museums, the Academy of Traditional Chinese Painting, or some other organization. Some graduates are assigned to middle schools as teachers; others stay at the art college to teach.

Policy on artistic expression. Professor Chen—an art teacher whose own paintings were criticized by the Gang of Four for being too traditional—spoke approvingly of Mao's "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom" speech. The Gang of Four tampered with the directives of this speech, forbidding traditional painting and foreign art and music, and lowering entrance qualifications. They also prohibited students from entering the college directly from senior middle school—a policy that has been abandoned since the ouster of the gang. Presently the school promotes the "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom" principle. Shanghai has an exhibit of French impressionist paintings, which the students may attend, and Mao's policy of "making foreign things serve China" is observed.

Additional Observations

- (1) Professor Chen said China again was letting a "hundred flowers bloom"—but also said that no one has yet tried to go as far as abstract expression. My impression, here and elsewhere, was that artists and performers were cautious, daring to return to pre-1966 practices but not going beyond the limits that then existed. (2) We were told that expansion of training in art and music would be slow because the demands of modernization through technical training carried a higher priority. — CLARK KERR

- (1) Some reproductions (by faculty members) of old Chinese paintings were absolutely delightful and done in masterful fashion. (2) Some of the work at the college extends to the application of art in industrial design, and there is an exhibit of manufactured materials resulting from this. — HAROLD HOWE II

TECHNICAL MIDDLE SCHOOL, SERVING THE ELECTRIC POWER INDUSTRY OF KIANGSU PROVINCE, NANKING

(May 6, 1978)

Our host at the technical middle school was Mr. Pan Chiao-tai, vice chairman of the school's revolutionary committee, who was accompanied by several teachers.

The school. This technical middle school was founded in 1953, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan. Its peak enrollment was 1,300 students, but it was badly damaged—as were most technical schools—by the Gang of Four, who believed that technical studies led to revisionism. During the reign of the four, many technical schools were closed, and this one was merged into a factory. Classes were halted and teachers were reassigned to other schools or to work in factories. The school was reopened in 1973, and new teachers were assigned. However, the effect of the Gang of Four can still be felt in a shortage of teachers, inadequate materials in laboratories, damage to study habits, and a lowering of teaching quality. However, the staff is optimistic and enthusiastic about the directives of Chairman Hua and the Fifth National People's Congress and are working hard toward realization of the Four Modernizations.

The school currently has over 500 senior middle school level students, 70 teachers, and 160 other staff members (workshop and laboratory workers, cooks, and so forth). An additional 320 students are to be enrolled in summer of 1978, and they are to be trained as technicians rather than skilled workers. The school is administered by a provincial bureau of the Ministry of Electricity, which has determined that 1,280 students should be enrolled within the next three years.

Admission and entrance requirements. There are more than 20 technical middle schools within the power industry. Students in this school come from all over Kiangsu Province, and the ratio of applicants to acceptances varies by areas of the province. In the city of Nanking, 10 out of 70 or 80 applicants were admitted this year through an examination process. Examinations are taken by junior middle school graduates and by sent-down youth, and cover mathematics, politics, Chinese language, physics, and chemistry (math, physics, and chemistry are the most important subjects for admission). Recent graduates of junior middle school do not have the experience of sent-down youth, but the sent-down youth have often forgotten some of their basic knowledge.

All students at this school are boarders. There are no charges for room or tuition, and the state pays for food and medical care as well as giving students a small stipend of spending money. The cost per student per year is about 700 to 800 yuan (about $500).

Curriculum and work. The main purpose of this school is to train skilled workers in power generation, power transmission, and construction of power stations. Seven specialties are offered: relay systems, transformation, transmission, communications via carrier telephones, remote control, turbine generation, and operation of boilers. These programs are two years long, and there are no dropouts. Two specialties are being added—electronic computers and nuclear power station technology; these will require four-year courses. Also new to the curriculum are courses on Chinese language and politics. A foreign language is not necessary, and no courses are offered in history or geography.

Students spend two to three weeks per term in the factory connected to the school, which produces transistorized selectors for carrier telephones. The amount of time spent in laboratory work depends on field of study; students in electrical engineering spend more than 15 percent of their time in the laboratory.

More than 90 percent of the school's teaching staff lives on campus, and a great deal of coaching and discussion takes place after school hours in dormitories and in special classes. We asked whether special attention was paid to "safety and community responsibility." The question seemed to cause considerable confusion among our hosts, but the answer was basically that there was no formal attention paid to these matters.

Assignments after graduation. Prior to the "sabotage" of the Gang of Four, the school had trained over 4,000 people for the power industry. These graduates were sent to various parts of China, and today most of them work in power-generating and power-transmission stations. Some work in construction of power stations, and a few are now engineers. Assignments are made by the state, and the school passes on to employers a record of each graduate's grades and behavior.

Additional Observations

- (1) The school obviously is still recovering from the "sabotage" of the Gang of Four and is in a period of "recovery and rectification." The national theme of modernization is obviously appealing to faculty members and administrators. (2) Here, as elsewhere, products of the school are sold to help finance its operation. — Clark Kerr

- This school specializes in a growth industry in China. Electric power is essential to the major theme of modernization. Although my technical knowledge is limited, it seemed to me that the school's apparatus (electric motors, model power circuits, and so on) were old and outdated. We did observe some rather solid work in classrooms in the mathematical analysis of electrical circuits. — Harold Howe II

PRODUCTION BRIGADE FOR EDUCATED YOUTH, HSUAN-WU LAKE COMMUNE, OUTSIDE NANKING

(May 7, 1978)

The Hsuan-wu Lake Commune, situated on the outskirts of Nanking not far from the Purple Mountain, has 20,000 people and six production brigades. Our host was Mr. Huang, the deputy director of a production brigade comprised wholly of sent-down youth.

The production brigade. In 1974, 50 educated youth from the city of Nanking voluntarily applied to come to the Hsuan-wu Lake Commune. Previously all educated youth had been assigned to regular production teams, but in this case the leadership decided to establish an experimental farm to determine whether accommodating the sent-down youth all together would facilitate administration and improve the livelihood and education of the youth.

In August 1974, when the farm was established, it was barren, unlevel, and unarable. The youth dug ditches and leveled the land with help from the peasants, and over a three-year period the land has been transformed. The number of cultivated acres has more than doubled to about 35, and when we were there, 208 educated youth were working in this brigade alongside about 30 peasants. All of the youth are from Nanking. Most are senior middle school graduates; a few are junior middle school graduates; none are from technical schools. Each group of educated youth from the city is accompanied by cadres—usually factory workers—from the city. The cadres are rotated each year. Educated youth are entitled to full membership in the commune as soon as they arrive.

The work of the brigade. The brigade produces vegetables and other crops, conducts agricultural experiments, works in factories operated by the commune, and studies. Crops are chosen for cultivation depending on the state plan and the needs of the city. Agricultural experiments are likewise chosen on the basis of the particular needs of the commune. Some experiments are also coordinated with other experimental units of the state.

Over 200 experiments have been conducted by the brigade to identify improved strains, control insects, and so forth. These experiments have resulted in 61 items of improvement, some of which are now in common use throughout the commune. The brigade has produced 27,000 kilos of improved seed for use by the commune, and a small amount has been sent to other communes in exchange for samples of improved seeds from their experimentation. When an experiment is successful, the CCP committee of the commune holds an on-the-spot meeting and makes a report. If the findings are valuable, the report is submitted to the city or state.

Living conditions. The leadership of the commune has provided for several aspects of the youth's development. For ideological instruction, peasants and cadres are invited to speak to the educated youth about the "sweetness of the present and the bitterness of the past," revolutionary traditions, and class struggle. Two evenings per week are devoted to political study, including Marx and Lenin, international news, and Mao's *Selected Works*.

In the area of general knowledge, educated youth are encouraged to further their education in numerous ways. More than 40 youth have taken (or are taking) correspondence courses from a university. A May 7th agricultural college has been established within the commune. Short-term courses in electrical work, maintenance of farm machinery, health work, and veterinary medicine are available at district and municipality levels. In addition, since the ouster of the Gang of Four, college and university teachers are invited to help the youth study mathematics and physics, and a television set is available for those who wish to take TV courses.

Recreation and cultural activities are also available; the brigade has a basketball team, a ping-pong team, and a performing arts group. In addition, everyone has two days off once or twice each month. Nearly everyone has a bicycle and can ride home to visit his or her family. (Since the early 1970s, an effort has been made to send educated youth to rural areas near their homes.)

Reactions of educated youth. Four young people, each of whom had come to this commune from Nanking in 1975, were interviewed by the Study Group.

1. Ms. Yao is a 22-year-old graduate of senior middle school. She came to the commune in response to

Chairman Mao's call to go and "learn from the peasants." At first she was not accustomed to physical labor and had a difficult time adjusting to life in the commune; but moved by the spirit of the former poor and lower-middle peasants, she has learned various kinds of farm work and now has a better understanding of rural life and the nation's needs. Ms. Yao is taking a correspondence course to prepare her for the college entrance examination. If she fails, she will stay at the commune and make her contribution on the farm. She said it was too early for her to think about getting married.

2. Mr. Chao is a 21-year-old graduate of senior middle school. He too came in response to Mao's call in 1975, determined that educated youth should contribute their knowledge to rural development, which lags behind the rest of the country. At first the adjustment to physical labor was so difficult that he often cried in private, but with the help of the peasants he has overcome this difficulty.

When he first came to the commune, Mr. Chao had no general knowledge of agricultural techniques, but he has learned a lot from the peasants and is now doing scientific research on preventing degeneration of potatoes. He has come to love the countryside, and the commune is his "family."

3. Mr. Chou is also a 21-year-old senior middle school graduate, but he had worked in the countryside while in middle school and had already fostered a liking for the country when he came to the commune in 1975. He too had to adjust to strenuous physical labor; in addition, he encountered ideological difficulties and found field work too monotonous. But after study and more work, he learned that in building the socialist motherland, each kind of work is indispensable. Now he is determined to continue at the commune, to study hard, and to help raise the scientific and academic level of the commune. His work there has included both experimentation and labor in the workshops. He took the university examination in 1977 and failed, but undaunted he is studying to take it again in 1978. If he fails again, he will remain at the commune.

4. Ms. Chu is another 21-year-old senior middle school graduate, the daughter of working parents. She was taught the importance of the countryside while she was in middle school, and upon graduation decided to go herself (her parents supported her decision). She had the same initial difficulty with physical labor as the other three youths, and like them she has overcome them with study and work. She is also taking correspondence courses in preparation for the university exam. If she fails, she will stay at the commune and contribute to the Four Modernizations.

Reassignments and college attendance. Over the past three years, 41 educated youths have been sent from the commune to the city. Five have gone to attend colleges and universities (out of more than 20 who took the exam) and the other 36 have been reassigned to factories. More than 40 youths are presently taking correspondence courses to prepare themselves for the university exam.

A member of the Study Group asked what happens if an educated youth decides he or she does not like it at the commune. Mr. Huang said that they had not come across this problem, because all of the youths came voluntarily. (A youth can return home if a parent is ill.)

Finances. The state allocates 480 yuan as a one-time payment for each educated youth sent to the countryside. This money is used for farm tools, housing, and a beginning subsistence wage. The commune itself also allocates money for these purposes. However, the sent-down youth rapidly become self-sufficient. Beginning in 1975, they began to produce wooden cases for movie projectors—an immediately profitable project: last year, the factories earned a profit of 100,000 yuan ($62,000). This is equal to about 500 yuan for each of the 208 educated youths.

Each youth receives an income of over 300 yuan each year—a higher wage than other brigades because of the success of this brigade's factories. Their actual "take-home" pay is regulated to keep it in line with the pay of other brigades, however, and the surplus is reinvested. This personal income is obviously adequate, and some youth are able to send as much as 200 yuan a year to their families.

Additional Observations

- I was impressed by the seemingly spontaneous answers of the four young people, by their wholesomeness, by their spirit of wanting to serve the nation, by their responsiveness to idealistic challenges. But, one must remember that they voluntarily chose to enter this commune, that they were specially selected to appear before us, and that they wanted good records when they sought to go to the university or move elsewhere. — Clark Kerr

- These young men and women certainly said what Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua would have wanted them to say and what they were taught to believe in their school years. They appeared to be absolutely genuine in their feelings and are no doubt dedicated to the national goals. It is odd to hear no personal goals or interests from young people—one wonders if they have any. When the group was asked whether they were allowed to marry, they all giggled, and Mr. Huang said, "That question was not on the agenda." They are, of course, not allowed to marry until about age 27. One cannot help wondering how personal relationships develop among young men and women living and working together as this group does. Any other place in the world they would at least hold hands from time to time. — Harold Howe II

- It must be remembered that being on a commune in the outskirts of Nanking, where one can visit the city every two weeks by bicycle, is quite different from being sent to some remote and backward area totally lacking amenities and far from family and friends. — Alan Pifer

- (1) Problems with blisters were mentioned by at least three of the youths. It was put to us that each youth studying for the university examination was responding to the call of the state and of Chairman Hua to raise the scientific level of the nation as part of the Four Modernizations. (3) Ms. Chu said her job at one time was to take vegetables to the city. She noted that "when people saw we were educated youth and the vegetables were good, people praised us." Being successful brings its psychological rewards. — John Shea

MAY 7TH AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CHIANG-NING COUNTY, KIANGSU PROVINCE

(May 7, 1978)

Our hosts were Messrs. Liu and Wang, director and vice director of the school, respectively. Classes were not in session on the day we visited, but we had a tour of fields, a poultry house, an egg hatchery, classrooms, and other facilities.

The college. This school was founded in October 1975 in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's directive of May 7th of that year as well as his July 30th directive regarding "part-work, part-study" schools. There are 43 acres of farmland on which grains and vegetables are raised and 12 acres of orchards. The school also has over 100 pigs, 5,000 chickens, and two factories—one producing oil pumps and one producing radios. The school's capacity is presently 300 students, but it hopes to double its capability by 1980 and eventually serve 1,000 students at any one time.

This school (and others like it) are part of a comprehensive state plan. Each province has several counties. Chiang-ning County has about 700,000 people organized into 26 communes, 373 production brigades, and about 5,000 production teams. May 7th agricultural colleges train a network of agricultural specialists at all five levels from province to production team. At the provincial level there is an agricultural science institute. An agricultural station or center exists (or will exist) at the county and commune levels, an agricultural specialist group at the brigade level, and individuals with special knowledge in four areas—agriculture, seeds, plant protection and fertilizer, and water conservation—at the production-team level. Eventually there will be five to seven individuals at the brigade and commune levels and a total of 25,000 specially trained people throughout the county.

The overall goal, of course, is to modernize production and increase yield. At the time of Liberation, the yield per acre was 335 pounds per year. It rose to 669 pounds when producer cooperatives were developed, 1,004 pounds when communes were introduced, and in 1972 (the most recent statistic available) was 1,672 pounds per acre.* Our hosts cited two graduates of the college who

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*Yields were expressed in *chin*, which is equal to half a kilogram (1.102 pounds). Output rose from 200 *chin* to 400, to 611, and finally to 1,000 *chin*.

contributed to this increase in yield: One applied his new knowledge and grew two crops on a poor plot of land in one year instead of one crop. Another graduate devised a hydroponic approach to raise seedlings indoors.

Admissions. The school admits two kinds of students. The first are those currently working in agricultural science who are recommended by the organizations employing them. The second group is educated youth—both sent-down students from the city and rural youth with a junior middle school education—who are selected on the basis of moral characteristics and physical fitness. All candidates must have had at least two years of work experience (thus they cannot come directly from middle school) and should be under 30 years of age. The school tries to select students from all 26 of the county's communes. Applicants greatly exceed admissions, and both location and examination scores are considered in deciding whom to admit.

Curriculum and work. The regular school course is two to three years in duration. Four one-year courses are also offered—two in agronomy and two for "barefoot doctors." Thus far, 300 students have been trained in these one-year courses. Nine short-term courses (of three to six months) are also offered in farm machinery, water conservation, silkworm breeding, training of barefoot doctors, and preparation of teachers of rural primary and middle schools. About 480 students have been trained in these short courses. All of the students in the one-year and short-term courses were at work in agriculture.

There are three basic expectations of students: (1) they should be politically conscious and should love farm work and the commune; (2) they should acquire a sound command of their subjects—both general knowledge and agricultural techniques; (3) they should be committed to stable, high-yield production. Education consists of political education—revolutionary history and tradition, learning the "spirit of Tachai," and discipline—and vocational study—physics, chemistry, plant pathology, control of insects, use of fertilizer, planting techniques, types of plants and agricultural meterology.

Theory is combined with productive labor in three ways at the agricultural college: (1) Teaching goes on while the students work on the school farm and is arranged according to planting seasons; for example, the staff teaches about rice when it is time to plant rice, and theory is taught during slack seasons. (2) Teaching is combined with scientific experiment. (3) Teaching is combined with social investigation; students and staff visit production brigades who are doing very well in order to learn from them.

At this school, 70 percent of the time is devoted to teaching and study and 30 percent is used for productive labor. This combination of study and work enables students to learn techniques better and helps them develop a spirit of self-reliance and hard work.

Teachers. The school is staffed by a combination of full-time teachers (graduates of agricultural institutes and colleges with at least 10 years of experience in their fields) and part-time teachers (typically specialists from other institutions). Full-time teachers are responsible for courses, and part-time teachers are invited from county hospitals, agricultural bureaus, and so forth to give lectures or teach short-term courses in specialized subjects. The school compiles its own teaching materials based largely on resources of the Provincial Agricultural Institute.

Finances. The school receives some funds from the county, but hopes to be self-sufficient through its farming and factory enterprises. The students pay nothing for tuition, room, or board, and they receive some small stipend of pocket money. In addition, if they have been sent to the college from a production team, they receive leave-of-absence work points from that production team.

Assignments upon graduation. The county assigns graduates to work posts. The great majority return to the production brigades or teams that sent them to continue their agricultural work with greater expertise (except for those trained as "barefoot doctors," who go on to do medical work). Of the 160 agricultural graduates of the school, five work at the county level and 20 at the commune level; the rest work in production brigades or teams. These graduates are considered the "backbone for propaganda on new things." Four-fifths of the barefoot doctor graduates and one-fifth of those in agriculture science have been women.

Additional Observations

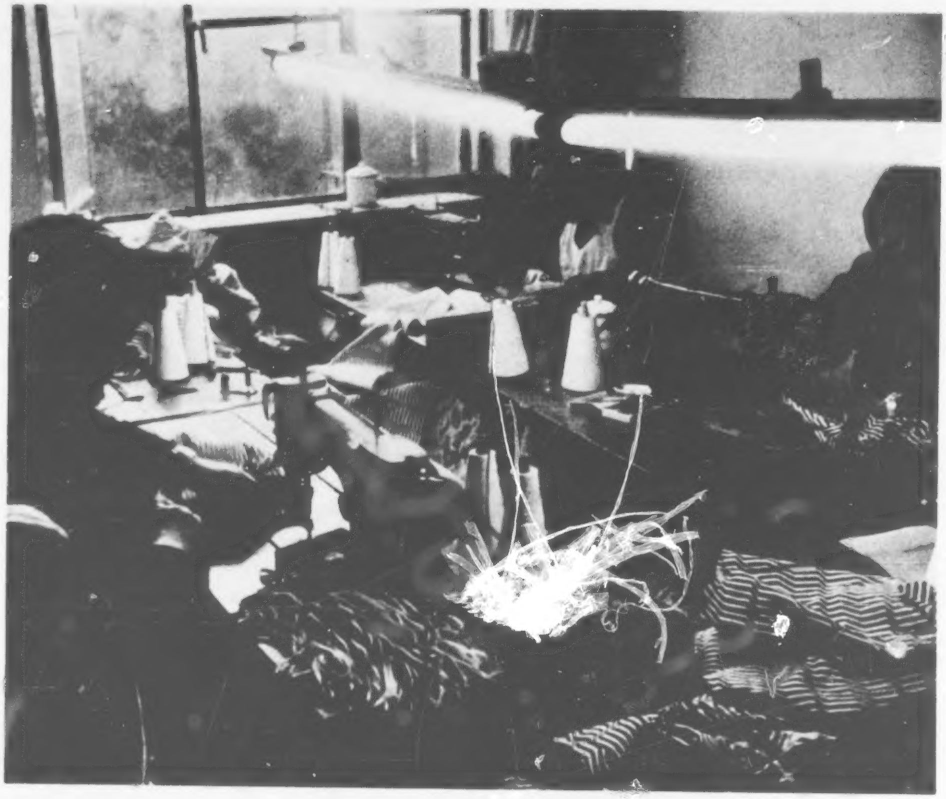
- (1) The school and the town felt "rural" and oriented toward day-to-day practical production. The approach of the school seemed to be very pragmatic. (2) We noticed iron bars on some first-story windows and were told: "We are still building socialism and so we still have some thieves." — CLARK KERR

- This school seemed to me to be doing an effective job of building skills and knowledge that could be applied to daily practice in agriculture — HAROLD HOWE II.

TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY, PEKING
(May 9, 1978)

Our hosts on the Tsinghua campus were Mr. Ho Tung-chen, a leading member of the faculty; Professor Chien Wei-chang, a distinguished mathematician; and several other professors and staff members. Most of our visit was spent in discussions with Mr. Ho and his colleagues.

The university. Tsinghua school was founded in 1911—initially financed with the U.S. share of indemnity money paid after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900—to prepare students for later study at U.S. colleges and universities.



Many young people in urban areas are "sent down" to farms and communes in rural settings when they finish middle school. Those at left work in the fields of an experimental farm on the outskirts of Nanking.

In Peking, the Study Group visited a tailoring shop in the basement of an apartment building where about 20 women were sewing children's clothes. In the same building, children (right) played games under supervision at an after-school center operated by the neighborhood committee.

In 1925 the school began to develop into a university, and by 1948 it had five colleges: engineering, science, arts and letters, law, and agronomy. Course content and teaching materials were basically American. The school was quite small (only 2,000 undergraduates in 1948), admission was very selective, and the teaching was excellent. Many graduates of Tsinghua contributed to the post-Liberation era, and many are presently scholars living in the United States, including five members of the National Academy of Sciences.

The university developed an early reputation for its student revolutionaries. It had an underground branch of the Communist Party by 1926, and students had participated in the May 4th Movement (1919) and in the December 9th Movement (1935). Liberation took place at Tsinghua on December 15, 1948, over a month before the liberation of Peking. When the Kuomintang left for Taiwan, they tried to persuade students and faculty to go with them, but because of the university's long revolutionary history, only five people went.

In 1952, the First Five-Year Plan was launched, heavily dependent on Russian influence. Tsinghua became a polytechnic engineering institute. In 1958, however, when Mao made his famous directive that education serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor, practical experience became part of the course of study. Students built a reservoir and a building, and went to communes and factories to learn the value of productive labor, but basic theory was not neglected.

In the years between Liberation and the Cultural Revolution, Tsinghua University improved enormously. There were 37,000 graduates in this period compared with only 2,000 in the entire previous 38 years. The campus increased from 100,000 to 500,000 square meters. In 1965, more than 5,000 students participated in the countryside in the Socialist Education Movement; and despite the difficult entry standards, 70 percent of the students came from worker-peasant families. The remainder were from families of intellectuals. Family finances had no bearing on admission. By this time, however, certain problems in education had become apparent. The 18-year period of schooling from primary through university was a bit too long, impeding the flow of educated people into the economy. Furthermore, students were heavily burdened with schoolwork, had to cram constantly, and were given numerous surprise examinations.

Reforms were instituted to alleviate these problems, but in 1966 the Cultural Revolution began, and the university immediately divided into two factions. The battle between these factions became so fierce that in 1968 Mao had to send in PLA troops to quell the strife forcibly. No sooner was harmony restored, however, than the Gang of Four gained power, managed to have one of their followers appointed as chairman of the university's revolutionary committee, and proceeded to disrupt learning and promote their "know-nothing" policies as they did at other institutions throughout China. In 1972, Premier Chou En-lai issued a directive to reverse the trends promulgated by the gang, but in October 1973 the chairman of the revolutionary committee managed to revert back to the gang's policies. These remained until the fall of 1976, when the gang was finally deposed.

Tsinghua University is currently still in the process of correcting the damage wrought by the Gang of Four, expecially in the years 1973 to 1976. Mr. Ho enumerated many examples of this damage.

- The Gang of Four wanted to overthrow the veteran revolutionary cadres of the Long March and to negate the 17-year period of progress before the Cultural Revolution.
- The gang devised the "Two Estimates" theory: (1) Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line had dominated the 1949-1966 period. This was not true; Chairman Mao had issued over 20 directives for this university alone during this period. (2) All intellectuals were bourgeois; the gang called them "the stinking ninth category" (see glossary).
- The gang said that students were "snared by knowledge." This was also untrue; students were active in both political and social movements before the Cultural Revolution.
- The Gang of Four distorted the idea that "education should serve proletarian politics" to mean that students should engage endlessly in political activity. Now this idea means that education should take up the tasks appropriate to the period—for example, education should now advance the Four Modernizations.
- Supporters of the gang believed that two and one-half days per week (plus all evenings) should be devoted to political study and two and one-half days to work—leaving no time for study.

- Followers of the gang thought that a student should be awarded 99 out of 100 points simply for singling out a "capitalist roader"; study and attainment of knowledge was worth only one point.
- The Gang of Four asserted that it is better to have laborers without culture than persons with culture.
- The Gang of Four also opposed scientific experiments, damaged laboratories, and suppressed teachers for trying to teach theory.
- Those who were students during the Gang of Four period—both those who supported the gang and opponents—did not receive adequate education and must now be sent back to catch up.
- Before the Cultural Revolution, the university had 12,000 students and 2,500 faculty and staff. Now, still recovering from that period, it has 6,000 students and 3,600 staff, including 1,000 teachers hired during the past 10 years who need additional training.

Admissions and entrance examinations. Entrance examinations, which were forbidden by the Gang of Four, have been restored. Last year, 1,000 freshmen were admitted. Most have had practical experience; less than 20 percent come directly from senior middle school.

Curriculum and work. The university now has 11 departments, mainly in science and engineering. Mr. Ho told us, "It may have been a mistake under U.S.S.R. influence to split science from engineering." Students spend about six weeks per year in productive labor in addition to their regular studies.

Plans for the university. The university has an immediate eight-year plan as well as general goals for the year 2000. The first task is to return to the highest level of performance of the period before the Cultural Revolution. To this end, the university has:

1. Reintroduced entrance examinations.
2. Restored postgraduate programs. ("We plan to enlarge in a big way.")
3. Extended the schooling period to four years. (It was six years before the Cultural Revolution but was reduced to three.)
4. Strengthened the teaching of basic theory. Eighty percent of all teaching is now in the area of basic theory, including basic technical knowledge. The other 20 percent of coursework is specialized.*

Additional measures for the future include:

1. Redevelopment of research and rebuilding of laboratories. Before the Cultural Revolution, 30 percent of the faculty engaged in research; this was reduced to less than 10 percent under the Gang of Four.
2. Modernization of curriculum content.
3. Modernization of teaching methods.
4. Expanding education to educate more children. The university will begin to accept day students. In addition, Chinese educators are studying the American junior colleges and hope to establish similar institutions emphasizing basic knowledge. Mr. Ho said that American groups who have visited Chinese universities have reported that the student-faculty ratio seems too low. He thought this "friendly criticism" was correct, but added that the quality of teachers needs to be raised as well as the quantity.
5. Additional courses in physics and mathematics.
6. Emphasis on the Four Modernizations, but with some time set aside for political ideology in order to keep students "down to earth" and help them "acquire knowledge from facts."
7. Transfer of administration of the university from the revolutionary committee to a president, vice president, and department heads.

Additional Observations

- (1) Some evidence was given of what must be very great internal tensions within the university. Some of the older students admitted during the Gang of Four period have been sent down from the university; others are being reeducated. The new students are better trained and more carefully selected, while the older students are less well trained and more politically oriented. The "old" faculty of 2,500 members considers the "new" faculty of 1,000 to be less than fully competent. The current "leading member" (Mr. Ho) had been a Communist Party leader as a student but was placed under house arrest and worked as an unskilled laborer in a factory from 1966 to 1976. His predecessor who supported the Gang of Four is now in prison. From 1966 to 1976 most faculty members were against the Gang of Four, most students supported it.

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*Later, one of our hosts said that the U.S. system of "credits" (he probably meant "electives") adds flexibility, and that the university wishes to combine a system of "credits" with planned education.

The student body of this university was a great strong point for the Gang of Four. After initial battles involving guns and much physical destruction, the Gang of Four supporters came out on top. The dominant line was "it is a sin to have knowledge." Students were advanced and faculty members promoted on the basis of being "red," not "expert." There was much suspicion of faculty members who "might put on new shoes but still walked the old road."

A total transformation is now taking place. Faculty members said they felt "liberated for a second time"; that the Gang of Four were "fascists"; and that now a "hundred flowers could bloom again." The grounds were well kept and the buildings in good repair in May 1978. This contrasts with the description by William Hinton (1972, p. 12) in 1971. He wrote of the general unkempt look, of rocks and bricks still lying around from the hostilities on campus, and of broken windows. He also wrote of how sharp the ideological struggle had been and how it was still going on. "The campus was only slowly reviving from the long political struggle which, at its height, saw machine guns, rifles, Molotov cocktails, and homemade cannons used by contending student factions against the classroom fortresses of each side. More than one large building had been drenched with gasoline and set afire" (pp. 12-13). For a description of what "revolutionizing education" meant at Tsinghua University, see Chapter 26 of Hinton's book. Most of that process of "revolutionizing" has, by now, been almost totally reversed. — Clark Kerr

- This university is a significant institution in the broad sweep of the communist revolution in China. As the communists took over from the Kuomintang in the 1940s, it was "liberated" several months before the City of Peking. It has been a center of political activism on the part of both students and faculty. This tradition as well as its location on the outskirts of Peking made it an important place for any political regime. — Harold Howe II

- The experience was quite moving because of the obvious joy with which our visit was received by the faculty members we met, especially the older ones. One felt that the opportunity our visit provided for them to pour out their bitterness over what had happened to the university during the Cultural Revolution was perhaps some small element of compensation for the humiliation and shame they had been forced to suffer during those years. — Alan Pifer

HO-PING LI (STREET OF PEACE) NEIGHBORHOOD COMMITTEE, PEKING
(May 9, 1978)

Our visit was to the northeast section of Peking, an area with relatively new apartment buildings. Our hosts were Mr. Kuo, Director of the Neighborhood Revolutionary Committee; Mr. Ma, deputy head of the committee; and Ms. Liu, head of the women's group.

The neighborhood committee. The role of a neighborhood committee is best understood in the context of the hierarchy of urban social institutions. The city of Peking is divided into nine districts, each of which has a district revolutionary committee. We were visiting the Eastern District, which in turn has 10 neighborhood committees. The Ho-ping Li Neighborhood Committee, one of the 10 in the Eastern District, oversees 17,000 households containing 70,000 people. This neighborhood committee employs 100 cadres (paid out of district funds) who supervise 10 organizations for education, health, and so forth. Women's and youth organizations are also represented, but the regular school system and regular medical services operate under separate auspices.

Within the Ho-ping Li Neighborhood Committee, there are 23 residential (or street) committees, whose leading members are volunteers—primarily housewives and retirees. Each residential committee oversees 500 to 1,000 households with a population of 1,500 to 5,000 people. The smallest unit in the hierarchy is the residence group (or "small group"), representing a small cluster of apartment buildings. Each residence group has a leader, a women's representative, and a person in charge of hygiene; all are volunteers. All households belong to a "small group," and so are automatically included in this overall system of social institutions. All members of a residence group are expected to take part in the work of their group—for example, to participate in hygiene campaigns. The leaders work alongside their neighbor-housewives in shops and nurseries and thus know what is going on in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood and residential committees are principally responsible for children under school age and housewives who live in the area; the workshops and service centers operated by these committees serve the population living there. Factories and other organizations operate under the jurisdiction of the central government or the municipality as a whole and are responsible for their own workers. These institutions cooperate with the revolutionary committee of the neighborhood in which they are situated, but the revolutionary committee has no direct responsibility for the workers at these places unless they also happen to live in the district.

The Ho-ping Li Neighborhood Committee oversees an area which used to be agricultural land in the northeastern suburbs of Peking. The present buildings were constructed after the Liberation, and the area now has eleven primary schools, nine middle schools, and four hospitals.

Activities. The various residential committees run their own programs, which include workshops, service centers, clinics, nurseries, and centers for cultural activities. The neighborhood committee oversees these activities, but Mr. Ma said "Our main task is to organize the people here to study Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Tse-tung thought." At the time of our visit, the residents of the area were studying the documents of the Fifth National People's Congress, the Eleventh Party Congress, and the National Conference of Science and Technology. "In this way, we guarantee that everyone will do his best to realize the Four Modernizations."

Specific activities under the neighborhood committee's jurisdiction include

1. Political and cultural study. Opportunities are provided for residents to learn about recent national conferences. Cultural study is provided by several spare-time night schools operated by residential committees. Much of the educational work is addressed to housewives, many of whom have had little or no education.
2. Workshops and service centers. The neighborhood and residential committees organize workshops and service centers undertaking semi-skilled jobs such as embroidery and making clothes. In a tour of one residential area, we visited a workshop in which about a dozen women were making children's dresses. Service centers repair clothes and other household articles. The work day is typically six hours.
3. Canteens. Residential committees operate canteens for children when both parents are working.
4. Preventive medicine and hygiene. Residential committees operate health stations, each one staffed by several medical workers who are under the supervision of local hospitals. The committees also undertake mass movements to improve hygiene and run family-planning programs.
5. After-school activities. Each residential committee has a station that provides education of children after school. These stations are especially active on holidays and during term breaks, and they make sure children do their homework during the school year. After-school centers are mainly for primary school children; older children presumably require less supervision and are on their own after school.
6. Reading room. Each residential committee has a small lending library and reading room.
7. Nurseries. About 14 nurseries are operated under the jurisdiction of the Ho-ping Li Neighborhood Committee. Most are day-care nurseries, but a few children whose parents work far away board at the nurseries. There are 12 more larger nurseries in the area that are operated by factories. Families who live in this area and work in a local factory can send their preschool children either to the factory nursery or the neighborhood nursery. Most find it is easier to have the children in the neighborhood because of transportation difficulties.
8. Safety and security. The neighborhood committee sees to it that the people in the area know how to use electricity and gas safely. There are also still a few

"bad elements" (occasionally a bicycle or some other item is stolen), and the revolutionary committee has a group of housewives who take care of security. Part of their task is propaganda: "We must heighten our vigilance." This group was also active in mobilizing the neighborhood during an earthquake threat.

Important problems. Achievement of the Four Modernizations requires a high level of science, technology, and culture. However, many women in this area did not have a chance to get an education earlier in their lives. Now, no matter what job they hold, these women need an education. Furthermore, in the shops operated under the neighborhood committee, women must keep books and perform other tasks for which education and culture are required. Thus, at the time of our visit, 100 women were organized under the revolutionary committee to attend night school.

Household visit. Half of our Study Group visited a woman in her home. She, her husband, and their youngest daughter (four other children are grown) live in a small apartment in a building with 15 or 16 other apartments. All three of them work, with a total income of about 160 yuan a month. The husband is a government worker in light industry; the wife works in the tailoring workshop operated by the residential committee; the daughter works in Peking.

The flat has two rooms, a kitchen, and a toilet. Rent is 5 or 6 yuan a month; utilities are an additional 4 yuan. The small room in which we talked had a bed, a chest of drawers, dresser, dining table, two regular chairs and two dinner chairs (made by the sons), and several small folding stools. The family also has a small table-top television set, which we were told cost 230 yuan. (Nine of the 16 households in the building have televisions.) The kitchen is small and equipped with a water tap and hot plate. The woman spends about two hours a day on shopping and housework. Because there is no refrigeration, she buys vegetables daily in shops near the apartment building.

The family is currently saving money for their daughter's marriage and for a trip to visit another daughter. We were told that living conditions for this family are much better now than when the husband was the sole earner and all the children were at home.

Additional Observations

- Retired people are subject to care by their families and by their local community. They may earn 30 percent of their former wage in addition to their usual retirement pay of 70 percent (adding to 100 percent of their prior wage) in watching out for children, performing services for the community, and working in workshops, service centers, and canteens. An effort is made to keep them engaged in production and service tasks, but legally their care is the responsibility of their children. — CLARK KERR

- (1) When a person is found stealing a bicycle, the security group attempts to "reeducate" him. (2) The hierarchy of committees and activities run by them provides a network of services and human contacts that almost guarantees that no one will be neglected. However, one wonders about the loss of privacy. Is there any room for eccentrics in such a neighborhood? — HAROLD HOWE II

- It was apparent that no individual or family that gets into difficulty is permitted to go unaided. Everyone "belongs" to the community and the community at large is responsible for every one of its members, whatever their age or circumstances. No one is neglected. There is a closely knit bond between the individual and the group, with mutual benefits and responsibilities. — ALAN PIFER

- The "tailoring shop" turned out to be three rooms in a basement, with about 20 women sewing children's clothes under what we would consider sweatshop conditions and at a furious pace. — JANE AND WILLARD WIRTZ

- We asked about services for handicapped persons, and were informed that those working in the neighborhood and residential committee workshops and service centers are housewives and nonhandicapped retirees. There is a special factory in the district for handicapped adults, but children under school age are provided for in neighborhood nurseries. — JOHN SHEA

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF NATIONALITIES, PEKING (May 10, 1978)

The delegation was greeted by Mr. Cniao Yun-chuan, vice director of the institute; Professor Fei Hsiao-tung, a famous anthropologist; and several cadres and staff members from minority nationalities.

Minority nationalities. China has 55 nationalities, including the majority Han nationality. The minorities represent about 6 percent (or 50 million) people, yet they comprise a sizable proportion of the population over 50 to 60 percent of the land, including Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. Historically there has been antagonism between Han and non-Han people, but Professor Fei hold us that it was the merchants and officials who discriminated, not the common people.

Chinese leaders have consistently paid a lot of attention to the nationalities. During the war against Japan, the revolutionary forces in Yenan had an Institute for Nationalities, and there are now nine such institutes, including the one we visited. Between 1949 and the Cultural Revolution in 1966, Chairman Mao received people from the Central Institute in Peking 14 times. Premier Chou visited the campus of the institute, and on June 22, 1977, Chairman Hua received a group from the institute. There are two regular minority members and one minority alternate in the Politburo; one of the regular members is also director of the political department of the PLA. One minority member is vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and a Tibetan is also on this committee. The People's Political Consultative Congress has members from several of the minority nationalities, and several well-known professors in Peking are minorities. National minority members participate in regular PLA units, but no units are exclusively made up of minority nationalities. (When Professor Fei was a soldier for one month during the reign of the Gang of Four, his company commander was a Korean.)

The institute. The Central Institute of Nationalities in Peking was established in June 1951. The main purpose of the institute is to train cadres for the nationalities. The institute is managed by an interlocking group of officials. There is an Institute Party Committee, a Revolutionary Committee (21 members), a president (also the head of the Revolutionary Committee), and a vice president (also the deputy of the Revolutionary committee). One of the vice directors of the Revolutionary Committee is a Tibetan. Mr. Ahpa, a member of the Uighur nationality and one of our hosts, is also a member of that committee.

No new students entered the institute from 1966 to 1971. As the Cultural Revolution unfolded, the same problems arose here as at other institutions: the quality of education was low (students had a slogan: "It makes no difference whether you learn or not"); there was a discipline problem; and intellectuals were attacked as enemies. Before the Cultural Revolution, entrants to the institute had to be senior middle school graduates and had to pass an examination. This was followed by a period during which one had only to be a junior-middle school graduate; no entrance examination was required. Now, once again, the institute is enrolling senior middle school graduates who must pass examinations. There are approximately 2,100 students now enrolled. Their tuition, fees, medical care, and room and board are all paid by the state.

Curriculum. Instruction is organized under seven departments:

1. The Department of Politics trains political workers.
2. The Department of Languages trains translators and has helped some nationalities develop a written language.
3. The Chinese language department offers regular courses in the Chinese (Han) language.
4. The Department of History works on the histories of the national minorities.
5. The Department of Fine Arts offers courses in fine arts, song, and dance.
6. One department offers short-term courses of one or two years duration for the training of cadres, with emphasis on Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Tse-tung thought.
7. Another department of short-term courses is directed especially at national minorities who have a low level of general education and at minorities whose general knowledge level is suitably high but who do not know the Chinese language well.

Much of the preparation of reading materials for courses takes place at the Publishing House of the Nationalities and in the government Bureau for Translating the Languages.

Educational opportunities. National minorities have access to colleges and universities in various regions using their own languages. In Tibet, for example, there are four institutions of higher education: a college of animal husbandry, a college of medicine, an institute for nationalities, and a normal college. In general, minority children have three options for higher education: (1) they may attend a college or university in their region where both standard Chinese and their native language are used; (2) they may attend a university in a Han area where standard Chinese will be used; or (3) they may attend a special institute with programs related to their culture. Minority nationalities are still handicapped in Han universities, and students in the small minorities especially have a problem unless they learn the Chinese language. Thus, the Central Institute of Nationalities is working with institutions of higher education to accommodate minorities in different manners. For example, classes for Tibetans may be established within a Han college or university. There is presently a policy of lower standards for college admission of national minorities. It is recognized that some minorities will have trouble keeping up with their peers in class, but Professor Fei said: "To create equality, we must treat unequally."

Assignments upon graduation. The majority of the graduates of the Central Institute return to their autonomous regions (most of them want to go home). A few are assigned to jobs elsewhere—in cities like Peking and Shanghai.

Policy on preserving cultural differences. Professor Fei said that the national policy is not to "preserve" minorities but to help them "develop on their own basis." For example, a written language was developed for one minority, "but it was up to them to decide whether they wanted to use it." Minorities are free to develop as they wish, so long as "movement is forward in accordance with the will of the people." For example, the Four Modernizations is a common purpose, but each minority group must decide how to strive toward it.

Additional Observations

- (1) There has been a long history in China of the Han people displacing and suppressing non-Han people. With half of the land peopled by minorities and with such land mostly on the southern, western, and northern borders—the latter two facing Russia—it is in the national interest to give recognition to the minorities even if there were no ideological reasons. (2) Minority languages are written in the Latin alphabet. Twenty written languages have been so prepared thus far. (3) A basic contradiction exists between preservation of minority cultures and the demands of nationalism, socialism, equality, and modernization. — CLARK KERR

- I got the impression that official policy toward minorities was quite pragmatic in the sense that it encouraged the maintenance of minority language and culture and at the same time attempted to prepare minority members to enter the larger society and to make them welcome there. No doubt there are both abrasions and contradictions in such a dual position, but it seemed refreshingly realistic when compared with our dealings with American Indians. — HAROLD HOWE II

- Speaking about bias and discrimination in general, Professor Fei indicated that about one-third of the students in higher education are women, and about one-third of the teachers are women. In his personal opinion, the ratio should be 50-50. He also noted that while the policy in central China is to control population, the minorities are encouraged to marry early and to have many children in order to fill up the sparsely populated areas in which they live. — JOHN SHEA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, PEKING
(May 10, 1978)

Two representatives of the Ministry of Education met with the Study Group at the Peking Hotel for discussion of questions we had submitted earlier (see Appendix B). Both Mr. Hu Shou-hsin and Mr. Li are of the ministry's Bureau of Foreign Affairs, which handles international exchanges of students and teachers and similar functions. The Ministry of Education as a whole employs more than 200 people.

School enrollments. Table 4.1 gives estimates of the numbers of schools, total enrollment, and number of teachers in China. Mr. Hu noted that if colleges and universities were functioning at full capacity they would be accommodating roughly an additional third the number of students (based on the enrollments prior to the Cultural Revolution). It is anticipated that full capacity will be reached in the next couple of years.

Table 4.1 Enrollment in Chinese Schools

Level and type	Number of schools	Estimated enrollment	Number of teachers
Primary	—	150,000,000	
Middle		68,900,000	
General	—		9,000,000
Vocational (in factories)	1,200	300,000	
Technical	2,500	800,000	
		70,000,000	
Colleges and universities	—	600,000	
July 21st workers' universities	2,000	600,000 (est.)	
May 7th agricultural colleges and communist labor universities	4,000		

China is currently seeking to "universalize" 10 years of schooling in the cities and seven years in the countryside. The length of primary and middle school is presently five years each. Higher education is usually four years, except for some specialties (such as medicine) which take five years.

On January 25, 1978, the Ministry of Education named 20 primary and middle schools as "keypoint" institutions directly under the ministry's supervision. On March 5, 88 institutions of higher education were given "keypoint" status. These schools will be given special attention to help them set quality standards for Chinese schools.

Main tasks. Mr. Hu drew attention to Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's recent speech to the National Education Work Conference. Of the Four Modernizations, advancement of science and technology is most important in advancing the other three, and education is the basis for modernizing science and technology. Education also must keep pace with the national economy. To achieve the goals of modernization, the ministry has four priorities in educational work:

1. Developing different kinds of schools and colleges. China's education system is backward in both quantity and quality. The country's population is 800 million, but it has only 600,000 university students. However, Mr. Hu said, "We have preliminary plans to let all youth who are qualified and who desire higher education receive it by the year 2000." Besides regular colleges and universities, the country plans to develop special technical schools and spare-time higher education using radio, television, correspondence courses, and other means. In addition, Mr. Hu said, "We have preliminary plans to operate colleges of two or three years that stress basic theory."
2. Strengthening scientific research. Universities will be run not only as centers of teaching but also as centers of scientific research. More research institutes will be established within universities, especially in the new areas of science.
3. Modernizing instruction. Efforts will be made to train and retrain teachers. Presently there are too few teachers, and the level of their performance (their preparation) is too low. To remedy the shortage, more education will be offered through radio and television. Efforts are under way in colleges and universities to develop new teaching materials, which will be nationally unified this year. Laboratory equipment also must be updated.
4. Developing spare-time education. Spare-time education will be greatly expanded, among other reasons to help compensate for the lack of places in schools and universities. Additions will be made in radio and television courses and in schools run by factories and communes. Night schools will be expanded to increase the dissemination of agricultural knowledge and techniques in rural areas. Spare-time education will also encompass "continuing education"—that is, updating the knowledge of people such as doctors, who must learn the newest

medical discoveries and techniques, and lathe operators, who may need knowledge of automation and computers.

One of the ways these four objectives are being pursued is an exchange of people and information with other countries. China is sending professors to international conferences as well as inviting scholars from abroad to lecture in China. Most visiting scholars spend two or three months in China (some spend up to a year) working mainly with professors and teachers. The exchange of books and other educational materials is especially helpful in this process.

Finances. The central government (through the Ministry of Education) and each province allocate some fraction of their budgets to education. About 10 percent of the overall national budget is for education. The proportion of education funds that comes from the central government varies from province to province, and it is up to each province to decide how much it will spend on education. Some provinces allocate an amount equal to the central government's contribution; others allocate less. The ministry provides more money for education in poor provinces than rich ones, and autonomous regions receive special funds to develop education for minorities.

In addition to ministry and provincial allocations, factories allocate money for education depending on their size, and each commune has a welfare fund from which it may allocate funds for education. Schools and colleges can also use profits from their workshops to help finance operations.

With regard to the private costs of schooling, pupils below the college level pay only the cost of books and notebooks. (In Peking, for example, this amounts to about 3 yuan per term for primary pupils—about $1.74.) Part-work, part-study schools in rural areas support themselves. In higher education, two patterns exist: In institutes for the arts, teachers, and physical culture, all costs are paid by the state. In other colleges and universities, no tuition is paid, but students must pay for their food, clothes, and other incidentals. If a student faces economic difficulty, however, the amount is reduced.

Pay for teachers is now under discussion with the State Planning Commission and the Bureau of Labor. The ministry believes that key veteran teachers in primary schools are as important as university professors. The current trend is to consider key veteran teachers in primary schools equal in importance to university professors—and deserving of the same pay.

Work and curriculum. Education in China is based on the principle that theory and practice cannot be separated. The Gang of Four distorted this idea to mean that only physical labor is productive. Present policies regard both physical and mental labor as productive.

Mr. Kerr summed up what the Study Group had learned about work and education in China with the following list (with which Mr. Hu concurred):

1. The dignity and importance of all work is emphasized.
2. An effort is made to have youngsters at an early age see people at work in factories and communes.
3. Some schools have workshops, gardens, and other projects where young people can perform productive labor.
4. In both middle schools and higher education, students devote about 15 percent of their time to actual labor—either on or off campus.
5. Productive labor is now considered to include mental as well as manual labor.
6. Most students (80 percent) go to a factory or commune for a couple of years after middle school before going on to higher education or a permanent job.

Foreign languages and world affairs. Foreign languages taught in China include English, Russian, Arabic, Spanish, French, Japanese, and German. Instruction is supposed to start in the third grade, but not all schools have the capacity to offer instruction so early. Applicants to higher education must pass an exam in one foreign language and must master two languages in order to graduate from higher education.

Foreign languages must be mastered in order to modernize science and technology and keep pace with new inventions in other countries. At the present both the quality and quantity of foreign language instruction is inadequate but is being improved. Teachers from abroad are being invited, both to teach directly and to coach Chinese foreign-language teachers. Professors and experts in various fields are also being exchanged with other countries.

College entrance examinations. Last year, the provinces and municipalities prepared their own examinations. All applicants were tested in politics, Chinese language and literature, and mathematics. In addition, applicants to liberal arts programs were tested in history, geography, and a foreign language; and applicants to science, engineering, or medical programs were tested in physics and chemistry. Beginning this year, there will be a nationally unified examination, given to all applicants at the same time. A foreign-language component is being added to the test for science students, and in addition to standard questions for all applicants, the exams will include added optional questions in mathematics, physics and chemistry so that especially talented students will be discovered.

Professors read and grade the bulk of examinations and receive a little extra money for this job. Each exam has several readers, and in the case of "subjective" questions without one standard answer, the readers must resolve any differences that may arise in scoring. The portion of "objective" questions—those with a standard answer—ranges from about 50 to 80 percent. The form of questions depends on the subject. In foreign language, for example, one finds multiple choice questions, errors that must be corrected, and translations to be made. In mathematics, the items test problem-solving ability.

Last year 6 million students took entrance examinations; it is not known how many will take the test this year. Because primary and middle school education is not universal in the rural areas yet, there is still an imbalance in applicants to higher education favoring urban students. However, 40 percent of the entrants last year came from the countryside, including sent-down youths from the city.

Administration and planning. There are educational bureaus at the provincial level and educational sections at the county level, both under the jurisdiction of the central office of the Ministry of Education. The central office determines principles, policies, and plans, and the bureaus and sections carry out these directives and provide local leadership.

The national economy is under the jurisdiction of the State Planning Commission, and manpower needs are the responsibility of the national and provincial levels of the commission. Educational planning takes place for special technical secondary schools as well as for colleges and universities, and manpower needs always exceed available supplies.

Not all youth can go on to higher education, so they are encouraged to prepare for both the factory (or countryside) and for higher education and to accept either one. (There are some laggards, of course.) Most sent-down youth go to areas near the city of their residence, and other measures are being implemented to improve living conditions of sent-down youth. The deployment of these youth is organized by the Office for Educated Youth under the State Council.

Additional Observations

- (1) The small size of the staff of the Ministry of Education in Peking can be explained, in part, by the general "thinness" of high-level personnel in China and by the fact that all operations are at the provincial and local levels under a national system as compared with our system, where the federal government administers some programs directly. (2) The pressure on the testing system must be enormous, reflecting the competition to get into a university or college: 6 million people took exams for 200,000 places—a ratio of 30 to 1. (3) Rural areas are underrepresented in higher education. These areas have 80 percent of the population (more than that of the youth) but young persons from these areas hold only 35 to 40 percent of the university places, and it seems reasonable to guess from what we saw and heard that at least half of these places are held by sent-down youth. This would indicate a 5 to 1 or 4 to 1 advantage for urban youth. (4) It appears that about 40 percent of all enrollments in higher education are in "key" institutions (given 88 "key" institutions with a maximum enrollment of 3,000 each). (5) We were told that 55 institutions of higher education (including 23 teachers' colleges) were now about to be opened or reopened. — CLARK KERR

- There is little question about China's seriousness of purpose in making education a major tool of economic and political development. Clearly implied in this conversation with Mr. Hu was his recognition that China has been diverted from its course over the past 10 or 12 years. The rebuilding of Chinese education in respect to both quality and quantity in the next 10 or 15 years will be one of the great education sagas of our time. — HAROLD HOWE II

- Experts on Chinese education say that provincial and county offices of the Ministry of Education are also quite small. One wonders about the logic of the federal and state superstructure for America's "system" of education. — JOHN SHEA

STATE BUREAU OF LABOR
(May 11, 1978)

Mr. Lin Chao, a leading member of the Labor Bureau, accompanied by three of his colleagues, met with us to respond to questions we had submitted earlier in the week (see Appendix B). Unfortunately time did not permit Mr. Lin to answer all of our questions.

Function of the Labor Bureau. The bureau is in charge of labor under the State Council and is divided into three sections—wages, labor protection (safety and hygiene), and education and training of technical workers. It has subunits at provincial, municipal, and autonomous-region levels and supervises labor affairs in various departments (and their enterprises) owned by the state or localities and in urban collectives. Its authority does not extend to communes. The bureau implements and enforces policy decisions of the State Council by issuing regulations and directives.

Vocational schools. Skilled workers are trained in two ways: apprenticeship and vocational schools. The latter, most of which are associated with factories and other enterprises, are part of the educational system, so the Ministry of Education also works under the State Council to establish and operate them. During the period 1966 to 1972 vocational schools were closed, but there are now about 1,200 in operation, serving some 300,000 students.

There are three basic kinds of vocational instruction: vocational schools train skilled workers (these are not considered cadres); technical schools train technicians (who are cadres); and vocational/technical colleges train technicians and engineers. Compared with technical schools, vocational schools have less stringent entry requirements, offer two- or three-year programs (instead of three- or four-year programs), and devote less time to theory and more to practice. The duration of training and division of time between theory and practice depends on the type of work involved.

After Liberation, the economy recovered but production techniques were still backward. Many young people entered primary school at age 9 or 10, did not continue school beyond the primary grades, and could not find jobs when they left school. Vocational schools were set up under the First Five-Year Plan and enrolled these primary graduates. By 1956, however, nearly all young people in urban areas were completing junior middle school, and the vocational schools started enrolling junior middle school graduates. Up until the Cultural Revolution, all students in secondary vocational schools received free medical care and a small stipend for food and school materials. Since 1973, these stipends go to 75 percent of the students; the remaining 25 percent, from more well-to-do families, must help pay their own way.

The curriculum of secondary vocational schools includes general education, technical knowledge, and basic theories. About half a student's time is devoted to actual operations and the other half to course work (in Chinese language, basic theories, and so on). In a typical three-year program, a first-year student might work two hours per day and spend the remainder on basic knowledge and theories; in the second year, time would be divided equally between study and work; in the third year, two-thirds of the time would be spent working.

Mr. Lin cited three reasons for emphasis on practice: (1) "When practicing, students can turn out products." (2) Practice develops students' ability to perform the job independently. (3) Students have an opportunity to learn about actual working conditions in factories and other work places. (Vocational school shops are not quite like actual factories, and the work is more rudimentary. We visited such a vocational workshop in the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant No. 1, where students were producing small parts for machine tools.)

The basic purpose of secondary vocational schools is to train workers with socialist consciousness and a certain level of culture. Diplomas are issued on the basis of written examinations and assessment of performance.

The precise role of the Labor Bureau in the establishment and operation of vocational schools was never made completely clear to us. All secondary vocational schools fall under the administration of the Labor Bureau but are also connected to the Ministry of Education, which trains teachers, supplies materials, and performs other functions. In fact, the Labor Bureau submits or approves plans to the State Planning Commission through the Ministry of Education. The schools are operated by a variety of departments and enterprises, and it is the Bureau of Labor that administratively coordinates these schools into one plan, based on manpower needs, which is then submitted to the State Council. The bureau also establishes guidelines for buildings, equipment, work sites, and dormitories for vocational schools. It was not clear to us whether the Labor Bureau is involved in decisions regarding curriculum content or whether the bureau plays a role in secondary technical schools.*

After graduation from a secondary vocational school, one is assigned to a job with a Grade 1 wage (there are eight grades in the wage scale). After a year of service the graduate is usually tested in technique and basic theories, and if successful is promoted to Grade 2. Seniority begins immediately upon graduation, as does entitlement to regular welfare benefits.

Apprenticeship. Apprenticeship training is the major method for training skilled workers in China. The system was formally initiated right after Liberation in 1949, and the slogan "Respect the master and show concern for the apprentice" has been used ever since. New regulations were issued in 1956 to set certain performance standards. In pre-Liberation days, the relationship between master and apprentice was not always good; some masters kept secrets from apprentices and received payment from them. Now there is a contract in which the master agrees to teach all techniques, and the apprentice agrees to be modest and learn all that is taught. Generally each master is assigned one apprentice, for which they receive some extra compensation (but not from the apprentice); apprentices receive no wages during apprenticeship, but they receive money for food and clothing, free medical care, access to welfare facilities, disability insurance, and some pocket money.**

The typical apprentice enters as a junior middle school graduate, although some have more education (for example, they may have dropped out of senior middle school). The percentage of apprentices who are sent-down youth or who come from rural families varies from year to year.

Masters train apprentices in actual work, with little emphasis on basic knowledge or theory. The related theory is sometimes learned in factory courses taught by technicians, engineers, or skilled workers with adequate theoretical understanding. A factory may allow teacher-workers to take one or two half-days per week off work to teach spare-time courses, which are usually held twice a week for one to one-and-a-half hours.

The typical apprenticeship lasts three years, but some are only two years long and four-year programs are necessary in some high-technology jobs. Apprentices are tested at the end of their apprenticeship.

On-the-job training. A third method of training skilled workers and technicians is on the job. Many of the young people recruited to work in factories since 1968, despite their junior or senior middle school educations, have a relatively low level of academic achievement. "Ideological pressure" may have caused masters, teachers, engineers, and students to be less than rigorous in their pursuit of learning. Both the Ministry of Education and the Bureau of Labor are attempting to raise the academic level and performance of young workers by providing training in basic knowledge, techniques, and theory.

On-the-job training takes place in July 21st workers' universities and in spare-time, part-time, and full-time technical courses. Many large enterprises are also reopening their vocational schools and reinstating lectures on specific topics; both were terminated from 1966 to

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*One reason for the uncertainty is that the word "technical" was sometimes used interchangeably with "vocational"—a problem familiar to American educators. The Study Group was told that the Ministry of Education—under the State Planning Commission—is responsible for enrollments and assignments of students in secondary technical schools. We never established whether at this point "technical" was being distinguished from "vocational" or not.

**In Tientsen in 1956, according to Mr. Lin, apprentices received 14 yuan a month for food, plus pocket money of 3, 5, and 8 yuan a month in the first, second, and third years of a three-year apprenticeship.

1972. For example, in one coal mine, each extraction team takes a short-term, full-time course in new techniques; in factories, a welder might teach several other welders a particular technique on the factory floor.

New developments in training policy. Enterprises are paying more attention now to the necessity of training workers before adopting new technology. Presently most of this training is occurring in apprenticeships because it is less expensive than other methods. Establishing vocational schools is very expensive because classrooms, shops, and teachers (both classroom and vocational) are required. However, as the economy develops, the number of vocational schools—both those run by governmental departments and by the Labor Bureau—will increase. Graduates of schools operated by the departments will be assigned to factories in their branch of industry; graduates of schools operated by the Labor Bureau will staff new factories.

Initial work assignments. Graduates of vocational schools are assigned to work stations by the unit operating the schools. For example, the mines and railroads operate their own school and assign graduates in these industries. The Machine Tool Building Department, which operates vocational schools at one factory to train workers for a group of factories, assigns graduates to workposts in one of the factories in the group.

By 1958, the unemployment problems of pre-Liberation days had been solved. Now China is tackling the problem of growth in the urban labor force. There is no problem for graduates of colleges and universities, secondary vocational schools, or technical schools. There is still a huge demand for these people, and they are easily assigned to work after graduation. However, the Labor Bureau becomes involved in the case of junior and senior middle school graduates who do not go on to college or other specialized schools. These young people receive work assignments that distribute them among border regions, factories or other workposts, or the countryside. Those going to a border region must be volunteers. The rest are assigned by the Labor Bureau according to a plan and in line with the individual's wishes if possible.

The State Planning Commission sets up quotas indicating how many graduates are to be assigned to the countryside, to factories, and so forth. The quotas are given to schools, which then attempt to fill them based on students' wishes and abilities. The school then submits its own plan to the local Bureau of Education, the Labor Bureau, and the Office of Educated Youth. If there are too many students in one category, they are asked to reconsider. For example, if too many students in a school want to stay in the city, priority is given to those who are qualified (only children, students with health problems, students whose families need extra earnings, and so forth). Everyone who is capable of working has a right to a job and must be assigned to one.

Reassignment of workers. Since 1949, the entire labor force has been deployed according to a unified plan. Neither state-owned nor collective enterprises can recruit labor directly or raid a factory for additional workers. They also are prohibited from dismissing workers. If a worker makes a mistake, the employer may apply sanctions (for example, demerits) and reeducate the worker. (Of course, if a law is violated, the matter is turned over to legal authorities.)

If one factory or enterprise has a surplus of workers and another in the same branch of industry has a shortage, the bureau in charge of this industry can make reassignments. If a whole sector of industry has a shortage and another sector has a surplus, the Labor Bureau will adjust assignments to correct the imbalance. Reassignments that require a change of residence are avoided, and the Labor Bureau attempts to make the reassignments so that workers will not suffer a reduced wage. Welfare benefits, however, may differ.

If reassignments are necessary in enterprises operated by central government offices, a move to another province is often necessary. Those cadres who move are considered the "backbone forces" in the new enterprises and are encouraged to follow the needs of the country and accept their reassignments. If a person is reassigned to another province, the whole family is encouraged to move. If this is inconvenient or impossible for some reason, the family may split up, and a husband and wife might see each other only once a year.

Educated youth. The ratio of labor-force expansion in rural versus urban areas depends on employment growth rates in each area. China follows a policy of building more small and medium-sized cities, and in one that is growing rapidly all the middle school graduates can be assigned to urban jobs, and returned educated youth and youth originally from the countryside may be assigned (or reassigned) to enterprises in such a city. An urban area growing a bit more slowly may be able to accommodate sent-down youth back in the city but may not recruit youth originating in the countryside. As industry grows more rapidly, fewer urban youth will be sent to the countryside; eventually the urban-to-rural flow may even be reversed.

Retirement policies. The national retirement policy, which was formulated in 1956, specifies retirement ages of 60 for men and 55 for women. In lines of work involving extremes of temperature, intensity, heights, or other great risk, men may retire at 55 and women at 45. Retirement benefits accrue to those with 20 or more years of service. Most workers are entitled to 70 percent of their last wage in retirement pay; the range is from about 60 to 85 percent. Many workers who retire from state-owned enterprises go to work in collectively owned ones, in which case they receive both wages and retirement pay.

Additional Observations

- (1) The heaviest demands for skilled labor have come from railway and highway transportation and from the machinery and communications industries. (2) "Professional" workers are trained in and placed by universities and technical colleges; "technicians" are trained in and placed by secondary technical schools. Both categories are considered "cadres" and both are under the general supervision of the Ministry of Education. "Skilled workers" are the general responsibility of the Bureau of Labor, which supervises vocational schools and sets standards for apprenticeship programs and on-the-job training. The apprenticeship route is least expensive and leads fastest to full production. — CLARK KERR

- Employment is obviously regimented in extreme degree. If it is true that unemployment has been eliminated, the price is a complete elimination, too, of any choice about what kind of work anybody is to do. — WILLARD WIRTZ

DISCUSSION WITH MS. TZU CHUNG-YUN AND OUR PEKING-BASED GROUP OF INTERPRETERS, PEKING (May 11, 1978)

We asked Ms. Tzu for an opportunity to meet with her group of translators to fill in certain information gaps and help clarify impressions. The meeting, which followed a question-and-answer format, was held in a conference room at the Peking Hotel. Mr. Pifer began the discussion with four questions and was followed by other members of the Study Group. Ms. Tzu's answers are paraphrased.

What questions did we not ask but should have? Ms. Tzu said that her group itself had learned a great deal, because they had visited many places for the first time themselves. In general, visitors are in China for only a short period, have an intensive schedule, and attempt to cover many topics. China is obviously a large country with a long history, and in a short period of time it is very difficult to learn much.

Ms. Tzu believes that one needs an historical and dialectical point of view in looking at China. Since the Opium Wars, China has experienced numerous upheavals, oppression, and disunity, including exploitation at the hands of Europeans in the nineteenth century, and this underlies the pride of the Chinese people in the unity they have now achieved.

Many people, including Dr. Sun Yat-sen, sought ways to save China, but only after the founding of the CCP in 1921 was the "correct way" found. With Liberation and resulting national unity, the Chinese now cherish their independence and struggle for a single ideal. One might ask why a person would respond to the call to go to the countryside; the answer is that the Chinese people know that without unity, the welfare of each person will suffer. She said this belief is not artificial nor is it imposed from the outside. "We know that only when the pot is full, will every bowl be filled."

What misimpressions, if any, might members of the Study Group have? Ms. Tzu cautioned against idealizing China. One must consider that China has a semifeudal past that influences the present. "This is why I say that developing a dialectical point of view is important." For example, before Liberation, about 90 percent of the people were illiterate. It is a fact that education is easier to provide in the cities than in rural areas, in spite of the fact that China tries to reduce the difference. In 1966, 70 percent of the students at Peking University were from worker or peasant families (the percentage is possibly lower now). Public education for these children is vitally important, and the state's help is crucial for children of parents with little education. China needs to improve primary and secondary education in both quantity and quality, and as it does the payoff will be greater for these children whose parents had little education than for children whose parents had more schooling. These same children were the ones who suffered most under the influence of the Gang of Four, because education was disrupted and its quality lowered. This is one reason it is said that the four were "leftist in form but rightist in essence."

What reactions have our hosts had to the Study Group? Ms. Tzu said that the places we visited were glad to have exchanges with their American friends.

Have we been to places which other groups have not visited? Tsinghua University and Chungshan University are visited frequently, but the production brigade for educated youth and the technical school for the electric power industry (both in Nanking) had not been visited often (the production brigade may not have been visited at all by her foreign friends in the past). Also, the Workers' Cultural Palace is not visited very frequently.

What is a cadre? There are two meanings of the term. In its narrow sense, the word "cadre" refers to administrators and managers—for example, the leader of a production team. Mr. Lin of the State Bureau of Labor used the term in its broader sense to refer to white-collar, nonmanual workers.

How would you describe the leadership positions of the individuals with whom we visited at various places on the trip? A "group" always exercises collective leadership. Generally, the people who were hosts of our visits—the "leading members," "responsible people," and so on—were vice directors or officials at that level, not necessarily the person at the top. Most organizations have a director and several vice directors (or in the case of school, a principal and several vice principals).

What does it mean to say one is "following the mass line"? This phrase refers to a style of work involving reliance on the masses. Leaders consult with the masses to find out what problems exist and what concerns they have. China follows a process of "from the masses, to the masses." One should not make decisions unilaterally; rather, leadership decisions should reflect the interests and welfare of the people.

What can you tell us about criticism and self-criticism? In political life, the Chinese are always talking to each other and informing each other about things that are very important. People who hold wrong ideas will be told they are wrong. Not all people have the same level of consciousness and do not respond to one criticism. "We criticize only in those areas with a public dimension. In our office we 'sum up' our experience once a year. That is, we examine the work of the office; we identify problems; we analyze them and look for causes and for possible solutions. We talk about the problems and decide what steps to take." On ideological matters, "positive struggle" can at times be very sharp.

How does one distinguish the effects of the GPRC from the influences of the Gang of Four? Both lines prevailed over the period from 1966 to 1976 and were interwoven in a struggle. In education, art, and literature the Gang of Four had special power. Schools were closed for a short time and students were given time to "make revolution." In 1970-1971 there was the Lin Piao issue. In 1972, order was restored in certain fields, and in 1973 conditions were basically good. But in 1974 the four made use of the campaign against Confucius, and 1976 was a disasterous year.

What was the appeal of the Gang of Four? The appeal was different for different people. Chairman Mao promoted the GPCR to counteract an erroneous course of development along the lines of the U.S.S.R. Certain practices had to be reassessed, and there was the problem of a new elite. However, ideas were not clear at the time, and revolutionary slogans were very attractive to some. People gradually came to realize that something was wrong, and in 1974 Chairman Mao criticized the four individuals known as the Gang of Four. He criticized them

108

repeatedly, and they repeatedly repented but then went ahead and made more trouble.

What are the disadvantages of a collectivized society? This is a dialectical issue. The Chinese people are aiming at "democratic centralism" and striving for "unity of will and personal ease of mind." But sometimes they go too far in one direction or the other—that is, they have too much democracy or too much centralism—and a constant effort toward proper balance is needed. The ideal is not easy to implement fully. For example, in traveling about the city one observes that in the matter of traffic there is too much democracy. The Gang of Four were at the other extreme; they were fascists and would tolerate no other opinions but their own.

Please describe the military service. The Chinese military is not an obligatory system. Each year representatives of the PLA go to schools and to the countryside to recruit young people. The minimum age is 18 and one may enter as late as age 22. Educated youth in the countryside may apply. Many youths volunteer, and the PLA selects from among the applicants. The selection criteria are strict, involving health, behavior, and political consciousness. A person selected serves three years in the army, four years in the navy, or five in the air force. At the end of service, one can apply for continuation in the service or return home. Often when they return to their local area (for example, to a commune), former PLA members become activists or leaders. The PLA is like a big school, and young people learn a great deal there. Those who enter the PLA have a sense of honor, will get a good education, and are aware that the PLA is a good organization with good discipline. In addition, the family of a PLA member is an "honored household."

DISCUSSION OF U.S. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, HOSTED BY THE STUDY GROUP
(May 12, 1978)

A few members of the Study Group met with approximately 20 representatives of the Ministry of Education, State Bureau of Labor, and Peking Teachers College. Ms. Lu of CPAFFC also attended, and in fact asked several questions. The meeting took place in a conference room at the Peking Hotel.

Mr. Kerr opened the discussion with a brief description of the educational system in the United States and of the role of federal, state, and local governments. Other members of the group described particular dimensions of intergovernmental relationships or policy directions that they thought might be of interest.

Only three or four Chinese representatives asked questions of the American group. The questions ranged over (1) the role of community colleges; (2) the role of the National Science Foundation and the implications, if any, of research being funded by industry, the military, and the foundations; (3) universal access to schooling and compulsory attendance; (4) youth unemployment; (5) differentiation of the high school curriculum and the role of guidance personnel; (6) selectivity in access to higher education; and (7) entrance examinations.

A REPORT ON VISIT TO THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSTITUTE IN PEKING
(May 12, 1978)

NOTE: This report on the Foreign Language Institute in Peking was prepared by James A. Perkins.

Accompanied by one of our guides, Miss Chang, I arranged a visit to the Foreign Language Institute. Located on the edge of Peking in an attractive compound made up of the main institute, a variety of dormitories for the faculty and a school for the younger children, this institute has obviously maintained a certain amount of independence because of the priority given to its work. I was received by three gentlemen and a woman: Wang Ciah-jung, vice secretary of the Party Committee; Hsu Kuo-chang, vice dean of the English department; Ting Want-tao, teacher of the English department; and Ma Yuan-hsi, teacher of the English department (a woman).

Mr. Wang spoke no English but was clearly in charge of the party as the "responsible person." Mr. Hsu was the elder statesman of the group having had some education in Great Britain and clearly a fine man of the old school. Without distinguishing who said what, the following points are worth recording.

The institute is divided into six departments which cover some 27 languages. Special emphasis is given to English, French, Russian, Spanish, German and Japanese as the languages most frequently used in foreign affairs. English is by all odds the largest.

There is a school for fourth-year primary to tenth-grade students which is a general school connected with the Institute, largely but not exclusively established for the children of the faculty, where language instruction is started early. All those present agreed that fourth-year primary was none too soon to start language instruction (this is roughly age 11). The main tasks of the Institute are to train teachers and interpreters. The Institute functions under the supervision of the Foreign Ministry, its budget is approved by the Foreign Office and by tne Planning Commission. The Party Committee is in charge and specifically the chairman and four vice chairmen form something of an executive committee. There is also a president and vice president whose job it is to carry out the policies of the Party Committee. It was stated that in due course the Party Committee might be abolished and the president and vice presidents would take their place. Each department has a party branch under a party officer who will shortly become a dean, who will in turn have some vice deans. Under each dean there are groups of teachers within a branch. There are 21 teachers and students as well as cadres and workers who make up the top Party Committee. It was stated that most cadres are teachers so that there is no sharp distinction between administration and instruction.

The English department itself has a dean and three vice deans who are nominated by the local Party Committee but approved by the Foreign Ministry.

There are five tasks for the institute with respect to language instruction. At another point, it was stated that there are five tasks for the students. They are: 1) comprehension, 2) speaking, 3) reading, 4) writing, and 5) translation.

Historically, the teaching of English started with the Opium War in 1840. No great changes were made for a century—until 1949 when, with the Revolution, language instruction was rethought. It was determined that reading English literature was not necessary, so the emphasis was shifted from being able to read to being able to speak and from cultural to instrumental purposes. In 1964, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, short courses of three years were instituted against the five-year traditional course. It would take three years to develop an interpreter. The system used was based upon older behaviorist methods, although it was not explained what this exactly meant.

In 1971, there were modifications in the program on the basis of research on the successes and failures of the program. Listening was established as priority number one, spelling accuracy was stressed, but there was no suggestion that overseas experience would be useful. Professor Hsu rather thought that of the total faculty of 300 or 400, perhaps 70 or 80 had had a chance to speak the language in a native environment.

Looking to the future, the plans for the Institute are to move from a three-year to a four-year program, which is already established in principle. They are on an eight-year planning phase. The points about the future that were made included these goals:

1. To enlarge the Institute from 1,000 to 2,400 students.
2. To start teaching children in the school earlier, namely, from 8 and 9 instead of 10 and 11.
3. To introduce postgraduate courses in order to train college teachers to teach foreign languages; and also to train teachers to teach in third and fourth grade. It was also pointed out that, in the future, the history of the countries and their social structure would become more important as part of a linguistic study program.
4. Teaching methods would be modernized by introducing small classes and the use of technology. Cassettes and tapes were already in use and indeed, our interpreter and guide Miss Chang learned a great deal of her English in precisely this way.
5. The all-around development of the student would be given greater attention.
6. Foreign literature or understanding thereof would be an important part of language training.

Our hosts were amused by the difference between British English and American English, which would indicate that they were keeping a record of the dissimilar terms. They ended up with the not unexpected statement that if, as, and when the relations with the United States were normalized, they would hope to have their students as a matter of course spend three months to a year at American universities and with American families, where they recognized language could be most expeditiously learned.

RECEPTION BY LIU HSI-YAO, MINISTER OF EDUCATION

(May 12, 1978)

Mr. Liu, who had spent the day at the National Educational Work Conference, greeted us in a reception room at the Peking Hotel that evening. The first hour of discussion was devoted to the most recent National Conference. There were more than 1,000 comrades in attendance, plus administrative representatives and representatives of colleges and universities, schools, and other appropriate groups. The purpose of the conference was to carry out the line advanced at the Eleventh Congress of the CCP and the Fifth National People's Congress. Chairman Hua stressed to the conference the need to have a vast contingent of technicians—both "red and expert"—to fulfill the Four Modernizations, with education being the basis for achieving these goals. The Gang of Four had tampered with Chairman Mao's line in education, and as a result education is an area of "big disaster." What is going on now, Mr. Liu said, is the "real revolution in education."

The minister addressed his remaining remarks to the four points Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping spoke of in opening the National Conference on Education.

1. China must carry out correctly the principles laid down by Chairman Mao in the field of education. To build socialism, China must achieve the Four Modernizations. Mr. Liu explained, "We are Marxists, and the proletariat is the product of mass production. We must reduce the 'three differences' (between worker and peasant, town and country, and manual and mental labor) in order to reach communism." According to Marx, there are two preconditions to communism: to raise the spiritual level of the people and to raise material conditions. To achieve this, education in China is designed to serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor. Furthermore, education must serve the "three struggles"—class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiments. The Gang of Four opposed the principle of combining education with scientific research and production, believing it was better to have laborers with no culture. Mr. Liu said this was absurd: under feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucratic-capitalism, laboring people had no right to an education; they must be liberated culturally now. Unless vast numbers of people are trained to be both "red" and "expert" in science and technology, China will return to a "dark age of obscurantism" and the people will once more be oppressed.
2. Discipline must be emphasized so that education can build a new type of person. China must train young people from childhood to have a proletarian world outlook and lofty ideals, which must be manifested in deeds. Lei Feng is held up as a model of putting lofty ideals into practice (see discussion of Lei Feng in the glossary and in the account of April 27 visit to the Kindergarten of Yen-teng Road). Mr. Liu itemized five emphases in training China's youth: (1) lofty ideals, (2) spirit of work, (3) service to people, heart, and soul, (4) strict observance of regulations, and (5) hard study in order to serve the people later.
3. The educational plan should keep pace with the national economy. Compared with the United States, the structure of China's economy is backward. The Chinese are making improvements, and education must keep pace. One of the measures being taken is an emphasis on unified educational materials, many of which were sabotaged by the Gang of Four. In unifying educational materials, however, some diversity is being preserved to respond to local needs. To keep pace with the quantitative needs of education, all types of schools—regular primary through college or university as well as May 7th colleges, July 21st workers' universities, half-work/half-study schools, and schools run by ministries such as Water Conservation and Power—are being expanded. "We are learning," Mr. Liu added, "from other countries who are more

111

advanced in the education field. In this way, we can obtain both more quality and more quantity."

4. Recognition of the importance of teachers. Lenin, Stalin, Mao, and Chou En-lai all attached great importance to teaching (Mao was once a teacher himself). Stalin called teachers "engineers of the souls of human beings." Chou En-lai said we should "respect the teachers and cherish the children." Mao approved a film entitled "Song of the Gardeners" (referring to teachers as "tireless gardeners"). The Gang of Four castigated all teachers, but now their valuable and arduous work is once again being recognized.

Mr. Liu summed up his remarks by saying that Chairman Hua and the Central Committee of the CCP have called on all of the people to support their policy in education. They expect to run a group of key schools well to develop all forms of spare-time education, and to adopt modern aids in education. But first they will criticize the Gang of Four to clarify what is right and what is wrong. He noted a "new sense of purpose" among the Chinese people that will help them recover from the set-backs of the gang in a short time. The Ministry of Education itself, although it is very small, will be capable of administering the strides toward improvement because they have not only the help of the provinces, municipalities, schools and universities, and various other departments but also a developing enthusiasm among the masses.

Additional Observations

- Minister Liu was very harsh on the Gang of Four. He said they made a mess of things; that their road led to disaster; that they wanted to return China to "feudalism with suppressed coolies"; that they had sabotaged the true policies of Mao. Consequently, the highest current priority is to "discredit and destroy the influence of the Gang of Four." — CLARK KERR

- Minister Liu is a durable bureaucrat. He came to us in the early evening after a full day of national meetings and before having his own dinner, and he lectured us for a full hour without a note or a pause. Since most of his time was used reporting the views of Vice Premier Teng, it was not possible to get much sense of his own thinking and style. His ministry is central to the development plans of modern China, but the formality of his approach left us little feeling for the nature of his leadership. — HAROLD HOWE II

- If there was anything of substance in the speech, I failed to record it in my notes, but I don't believe there was. — ALAN PIFER

Appendix A: Itinerary of Study Group

April 25, 1978 — Tuesday

Afternoon

Arrived Kwangchow (Canton) by train from Shumchun and Hong Kong

Greeted by representatives of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC)

Peking: Ms. Tzu Chung-yun, leading member; Mr. Su Kuang; Mr. Kuo Tse-pei; Ms. Chang Yun (on loan from Peking Foreign Language Institute); Ms. Hsueh Huan-hui (on loan from China International Travel Service).

Canton Branch: Mr. Tu Ai, vice chairman of the local branch; Mr. Chu Han-chou; Ms. Ho Yung-chin; Mr. Kuan Liu.

Sightseeing at Kwangchow Museum

Evening

Banquet at Pan Hsi Restaurant, hosted by the local branch of CPAFFC

April 26, 1978 — Wednesday

Morning

Kwangchow Deaf-Mute School

Briefing by Ms. Ho, vice chairman of the revolutionary committee, accompanied by Dr. Lo, chief of the medical team
Tour of classrooms; observation of acupuncture and of student performing arts
Discussion

Afternoon

Chungshan University
Briefing by Professor Hsia Shu-chang, responsible member of the theoretical group, accompanied by several teachers, students, and cadre
Discussion
Walking tour of central campus area

Evening

Visit to Kwangchow Cultural Park

April 27, 1978 — Thursday

Morning

Kindergarten of Yen-teng Road
Briefing by Ms. Lo, head of the kindergarten, accompanied by several teachers and staff
Tour of classrooms and play area
Discussion

Afternoon

Guided tour of Chinese Export Commodities Fair

Evening

Performance by the Oriental Singing and Dancing Troupe, Peking, at Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall

April 28, 1978 — Friday

Morning

Sightseeing at Shamian Island and White Cloud Mountains.
Plane to Kweilin.
Greeted in Kweilin by representatives of the CPAFFC branch, Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region: Mr. Cheng Kai-peng, deputy secretary-general of the local branch; Mr. Chung Shu-kung, a teacher on assignment from Peking Foreign Language Institute; Ms. Huang Hsiao-chien, student on assignment from same institute; Ms. Liu Hsu-yen; Mr. Pei Chien-wen

Afternoon

Kweilin Middle School
Briefing by Mr. Yang, Director of the Education Department
Tour of the school, including classrooms and workshops

Evening

Meeting of the Study Group

April 29, 1978 — Saturday

Day

Boat trip on the Li River

Evening

Performance of "Third Sister Liu," a story based on a folktale of the Chuang people, one of the national minorities

April 30, 1978 — Sunday

Morning

Sightseeing at Reed Flute Cave, bonzai garden, and Camel Mountain

Plane to Shanghai
Greeted in Shanghai by representatives of the Shanghai branch of CPAFFC and of the Shanghai Education Bureau: Mr. Li Shou-pao, leading member; Ms. Li Li, leading member of the Educational Bureau; Mr. Li Chiang-ming, Shanghai Teacher's College

May 1, 1978 — Monday

Morning
Children's Palace, Yangpu District, Shanghai
Walking tour
Discussion
Walk along the Bund
Afternoon
Discussion of spare-time education
Briefing by Ms. Li Li, responsible member of the Shanghai Municipality Bureau of Education, accompanied by experts in higher education, correspondence, radio, and television instruction
Evening
Banquet at the hotel, hosted by the local branch of the CPAFFC.

May 2, 1978 — Tuesday

Morning
San-lin People's Commune, Shanghai County
Briefing by members of the Commune
Visits to commune hospital, primary school, middle school, machinery and other workshops, Production Brigade clinic, and two households
Afternoon
Feng-huo Semiconductor Parts Factory (collectively owned) in City of Shanghai
Briefing by Mr. Yu Chia-chang, responsible person for the factory, accompanied by several veteran workers and other comrades
Walking tour of the factory
Discussion
Shanghai School for the Blind, Sung Chiao Road
Walking tour of the school
Briefing by Ms. Chou Man-li
Discussion
Evening
Visit to Worker's Cultural Palace

May 3, 1978 — Wednesday

Morning
Shanghai Machine Tool Plant No. 1
Briefing by Mr. Lin, secretary of the administrative office of the factory
Visit to various shops, the day-care center, and classrooms
Meter and Instrument Parts Factory, Shanghai
Briefing by Mr. Chen An-zhai, a leading member of the factory
Tour of various workshops
Discussion
Afternoon
Train to Soochow
Greeting in Soochow, by representatives of the local CPAFFC branch, Kiangsu Province: Hu Ching-ching, Deputy Secretary-General; Chen Yen-tung, Council member; Shen Chin-teh, staff; Kuan Jui-hua, staff
Sightseeing, Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets
Evening
Film: "Spring"—presenting actors and singers banned by the Gang of Four

May 4, 1978 — Thursday

Morning
Sandalwood Fan Handicraft Factory
Briefing by Ms. Shen
Tour of the facilities
Discussion
Sightseeing, Pagoda on Tiger Hill and West or "Lingering" Garden
Afternoon
Soochow Embroidery Research Institute
Briefing by Ms. Chien Shu-yu, Director
Visit to design room and workshops
Discussion
Sightseeing, Garden of the Humble Administrator (sometimes known as the Corrupt Politician)
Evening
Group discussion with John and Caroline Service

May 5, 1978 — Friday

Morning
Train to Nanking
Greeting in Nanking, by representatives of the local CPAFFC branch, Kiangsu Province: Mr. Wang Liang, leading member; Mr. Chang Ho-hsien, deputy secretary-general; Mr. Yeh Ho-sheng, council member; Ms. Yao Chin-i, staff
Briefing on the City of Nanking by Mr. Wang and discussion of local itinerary
Afternoon
Nanking Primary School, serving Hsia
Briefing by Ms. Wang, vice chairman of the revolutionary committee
Visit and performance by Little Red Soldiers
Discussion
Sightseeing, Tai-ping Historical Museum
Evening
Banquet at the hotel, hosted by Mr. Wang and the local CPAFFC branch, accompanied by Professor Yang of Nanking University and Associate Professor Chung Chao-hua of Nanking Teachers College

May 6, 1978 — Saturday

Morning
Nanking Art College
Briefing by Mr. Fong, member of the revolutionary committee, accompanied by art teacher, Mr. Chen Tai-yue, and other staff
Student and staff performance: piano, chamber music group, vocal, Mr. Chen's paintings. Walking tour of other facilities and exhibits
Discussion
Afternoon
Technical Middle School, serving Electric Power Industry, Kiangsu Province
Briefing by Mr. Pan Chiao-tai, vice chairman of the revolutionary committee, accompanied by several teachers
Walking tour of classrooms and laboratory facilities
Discussion
Evening
Performance by Nanking District's Little Red Soldiers

May 7, 1978 — Sunday

Morning
Production Brigade for Educated Youth, Hsuan-wu Lake Commune, near Nanking
Briefing by Mr. Huang, deputy director of the farm
Walking tour of fields and workshops
Discussion
Afternoon
May 7th Agricultural School, Chiang-ning County, Kiangsu Province
Walking tour of fields, poultry facilities, and selected laboratories and exhibits
Greeting by Mr. Liu, director of the school, and Mr. Wang, vice director.
Sightseeing: Purple Mountain, Ming Tomb, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum
Evening
Puppet show: "The Monkey King"

May 8, 1978 — Monday

Morning
Visit to the Nanking Bridge
Plane to Peking
Greeted at Peking airport by Mr. Hung-fan, Ms. Lu Tsui, and other representatives of the CPAFFC
Afternoon
Sightseeing at Temple of Heaven

May 9, 1978 — Tuesday

Morning
Tsinghua University
Briefing by Mr. Ho Tung-chen, leading member of the university, accompanied by several professors, teachers, and a staff person
Discussion
Afternoon
Ho-ping Li (Street of Peace) Neighborhood Committee
Briefing by Mr. Ma, a leading member of the neighborhood revolutionary committee, accompanied by Mr. Kuo, director of the neighborhood revolutionary committee, and Ms. Liu, head of the women's group
Visit to nursery, service center, small basement garment factory, and an apartment
Discussion
U.S. Liaison Office, Peking
Reception hosted by Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Woodcock, and members of the Liaison staff
Briefing by Mr. Stephen Harner, Economics Officer, and Mr. Donald Keyser, Political Officer
Discussion, also involving Charles Sylvester, David Dean and Mary Dean

May 10, 1978 — Wednesday

Morning
Institute of Nationalities
Briefing by Mr. Chiao Yun-chuan, vice director of the institute, accompanied by Professor Fei Hsiao-tung and other cadre and staff
Walking tour to see a dancing group, classrooms, and a museum
Discussion
Afternoon
Discussion with Mr. Hu Shou-hsin, Bureau of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Education, accompanied by Mr. Li from the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, and Ms. Lu of CPAFFC
Evening
Banquet at the hotel, hosted by Ambassador Wang Ping-nan and other members of CPAFFC

May 11, 1978 — Thursday

Morning
Sightseeing at the Summer Palace
Afternoon
Discussion with Mr. Lin Chao, a leading member of the State Bureau of Labor, accompanied by two of his colleagues
Evening
Discussion with Ms. Tzu Chung-yun, leading member of the Peking-based group which accompanied us on our tour of China, and our other four companions

May 12, 1978 — Friday

Morning
  Visit to Mausoleum of Mao Tse-tung
  Sightseeing in the Forbidden City
Afternoon
  Visit to Foreign Language Institute (James A. Perkins)
  The U.S. educational system
    Discussion with representatives of Ministry of Education, State Bureau of Labor, and Peking Teachers College, hosted by the Study Group
Evening
  Meeting, picture-taking, and discussion with Mr. Liu Hsi-yao, Minister of Education

May 13, 1978 — Saturday

All day
  Sightseeing at the Great Wall and the Ming Tombs
Afternoon
  Session on foreign policy of China by Ambassador Wang Ping-nan
Evening
  Banquet at Peking Duck Restaurant, hosted by the Study Group

May 14 (or 15), 1978 — Sunday (or Monday)

All Day
  Parts of the Study Group returned home through Shumchun and Hong Kong; others flew from Peking to Tokyo

Appendix B: Written Questions Addressed to the Ministry of Education and to the State Bureau of Labor

Questions to the Ministry of Education

In order to speed the exchange of information, we were asked when we were in Soochow to submit questions to the Ministry of Education before reaching Peking. Messrs. Howe, Kerr, Perkins, and Pifer, along with Ms. Rice and Ms. Rivlin, prepared the following questions. The first set—limited to statistics—was asked in the hope of obtaining data in written form. The second set was intended to form the basis for a discussion with ministry officials that was held in Peking on May 10.

General Statistics

1. Within broad age categories, what percentage of the population is now literate? How is "literacy" defined? How does the present proportion compare to 1949? How does the literacy rate vary, at present, among the different nationalities?
2. We would like to know, for urban and rural areas separately, (1) total enrollment and (2) number of schools of various types:
   a. Kindergartens
   b. Primary schools
   c. Junior and senior middle schools
   d. Technical middle schools for:
      Industrial technicians
      Agricultural technicians
      Rural school teachers
      "Barefoot doctors" and other health workers
      Other kinds of work
   e. Institutions of higher education:
      Comprehensive colleges and universities
      Science and engineering universities
      Normal colleges
      Medical schools
      Other
3. By level of education, how many schools and colleges have been designated "keypoint" institutions? Are they all located in urban areas? What proportion of students is enrolled in keypoint institutions?
4. Outside the traditional system of education, we would like to know how many of the following kinds of institutions exist and what the total enrollment is in each category:
   a. July 21 workers' universities
   b. May 7 agricultural colleges

   c. May 7 cadre schools
   d. TV (or radio) universities
   e. Correspondence programs
   f. Spare-time schools
   g. Spare-time colleges
   h. Workers' cultural palaces
   i. Other forms of "nontraditional" education or training
5. How many research institutes exist? How many provide advanced, graduate-level training? How many persons are now receiving training in various specialties?
6. With respect to Questions 2, 3, 4, and 5, above, what plans exist to increase (or decrease) enrollments in each type of institution?
7. How much is spent on education and training? What percentage of national, provincial, municipal, and county budgets is spent on education and training? At each level—kindergarten, primary, secondary, and higher—how much do students pay in tuition, for room and board, and for books, materials, and supplies?
8. What contribution do communes and factories make to the financial support of education?
9. What proportion of primary and secondary schooling is devoted to:
   a. General knowledge
   b. Technical or vocational training
   c. Productive work
   d. "Nonclassroom" activities such as physical education, performing arts, and the like?

Discussion Questions

1. We have several questions about the curriculum in primary and secondary schools:
   a. Who determines what the curriculum will be and what teaching materials are to be used? Who decides when a change should be made?
   b. To what extent are curriculum and teaching materials common throughout China? Are curriculum and course content decisions made at national, provincial, or lower levels?
   c. When is a foreign language introduced? How many years is a student expected to study a foreign language such as English? What difficulties are encountered in the teaching of English?
   d. How will education serve the growing need in China for an understanding of world affairs outside China?
2. How do national and provincial education authorities determine which schools are doing well and which schools need improvement? How do these authorities carry out improvements when needed? (a) By providing more resources? (b) By retraining school staff members? (c) By other means?
3. Is research and experimentation carried out to improve the effectiveness of teaching and learning? Who conducts the research? How are the results translated into practice?
4. In what areas of study (for example, science or foreign languages) are teacher shortages most critical? What is being done to remedy such shortages? Are efforts under way to upgrade or retrain teachers, especially in science and technical fields?
5. How are teachers paid? Do primary school teachers earn as much as middle school teachers? Are pay scales the same all over the country? How does teacher pay compare with that of university professors, technicians in factories, commune members?
6. Would you please explain the relationship of economic planning, manpower planning, and educational planning, and the role of national, provincial, and lower units of government in these? To what extent are educational planning decisions based on manpower needs?
7. What proportion of youth finishing junior middle school, senior middle school, and colleges and universities is sent to the countryside? What proportion is expected to remain permanently in the countryside?
8. What efforts are being made to equalize educational opportunity between rural and urban areas?
9. To reach your goal of modernizing the country by the year 2000:
   a. What percentage of young people under the age of 30 require some technical middle school or higher education?
   b. What are your goals for graduate work between now and 1985? How much graduate work will take place in universities? how much in research institutes?
10. We have several questions regarding entrance examinations and selection of students to attend senior middle schools and colleges and universities:
   a. What is your present policy regarding tuition and fees? Do you plan to make any changes here?
   b. What is your present policy in higher education regarding part-time attendance? living off campus? Do you plan to make any changes here?
   c. Would you describe for us both criteria and procedures for admitting college and university students in 1975, 1977, and in the year ahead. What role have examinations had?
   d. Are your entrance examinations tests of achievement (or knowledge), or are they tests of aptitude for further learning? Are they multiple-choice? essay? or what?
   e. How will college admissions decisions be made next year? Are examination scores used for placement purposes? What percentage of new students will be taken directly from senior middle school?
   f. In what areas of study are there far more applicants than places? In which areas of study are there relatively few? Can a student, once admitted, change his or her field of study?

g. Are examination results judged or used in the same way for a student from a rural as opposed to an urban area? from a poorly-educated family as for one where parents have had more education?

h. Will examinations and great selectivity in admissions foster elitism or shift enrollments to better-educated, more educationally privileged students?

Questions to the State Bureau of Labor

The Study Group was also asked to submit questions to the State Bureau of Labor. Messrs. Pifer, Rosow, Shea, and Wirtz and Ms. Rivlin prepared the following set of questions, which formed the basis for the briefing and discussion with Mr. Lin Chao and other representatives of the Labor Bureau in Peking on May 11.

1. How is the Labor Bureau organized? Does it have offices at provincial and lower levels? What functions does the bureau perform? How does the Labor Bureau relate to other government organizations, such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education, and schools and colleges?
2. What kind of labor statistics (e.g., underemployment, manpower shortages and future requirements, etc.) are collected? Is this done at national, provincial, or lower levels? Is information on future manpower needs used in making educational policy decisions? How?
3. Are any assumptions made as to differences between men and women in terms of qualifications for different types of education, training, work, or responsibility?
4. Where (for example, State Planning Commission, Bureau of Labor, or someplace else(are decisions made about the allocation of people to jobs? Where is it decided, for example, how many young people will be sent down to the countryside from a particular city and where they should go? Who decides which individuals should be sent to what areas?
5. What is the process through which middle school, college, and university graduates are assigned to urban jobs? How do employers specify the qualifications they need? How are the special skills and talents of individuals taken into account?
6. When a new factory or plant is opened, how is manpower recruited? (We would appreciate an actual case example here.) Is an effort made to locate new facilities in areas of surplus labor? Are people recruited and trained locally? Are highly skilled and technical workers recruited from other parts of China?
7. On what basis are workers reassigned from one enterprise to another? Is reassignment typically because another enterprise needs and recruits experienced workers? Is any attention paid to the preferences (or desires) of individuals to be reassigned?
8. How does the Labor Bureau evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of (a) informal learning on the job; (b) special training programs at factories and other work sites; and (c) school-based vocational/technical training? Is this view shared by the Ministry of Education?
9. What are the main constraints on modernization of the national economy? shortage of capital? shortage of engineers? skilled workers? managerial skills? What is the Labor Bureau doing to achieve the goal of modernization? Is there a possible future point at which technological, labor-saving improvements might increase unemployment (or underemployment)?
10. What factors determine the nation's present retirement policies? Is it assumed that people should stop working at some specific age?
11. Who manages the national wage policy? How are wages and salaries set? What is the present range of compensation? Is there a bureau which defines, classifies, and determines job standards?
12. Is there a bureau concerned primarily with the labor unions? How does it function?
13. How are workers in urban areas motivated to work hard? What incentives are there for hard work? How well do various material and nonmaterial rewards work in spurring production?

Appendix C: Policy Documentation

Pertinent Historical Policy Statements

Mao Tse-tung

Opposites possess identity, and consequently can coexist in a single entity. — "On Contradiction," 1937

Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor. Working people should master intellectual work and intellectuals should integrate themselves with the working people. — "A Talk," 1958

Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture. — "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," 1957

Schools and colleges should run factories. — *Chinese Education*, 1976, IX (2), p. 6

While their main task is to study, (students) should also learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge, they should also learn industrial production, agricultural production, and military affairs. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer. — "Letter to Comrade Lin Piao," May 7, 1966

It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command, and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study. — "Directive," July 21, 1968

All intellectuals who can work in the countryside should be happy to go there. Our countryside is vast and has plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full. — *Chinese Education*, p. 10

It is most necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be reeducated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. — "Statement," December 22, 1968.

If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. . . . If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience. — "On Practice," 1937.

Workers and peasants and their children should enjoy priority in education. — *Chinese Education*, p. 9

Class struggle is the main subject young people must learn. — *Chinese Education*, p. 8

In all its work the school should aim at transforming the students' ideology. — *Chinese Education*, p. 6

Current Statements

We should run well schools at all levels and of all types, and primarily the key universities and schools. In order to improve the quality of education, it is necessary to take effective measures to train teachers, to compile new textbooks speedily, and to utilize modern aids fully. By 1985, in the main eight-year schooling should be made universal in the rural areas and 10-year schooling in the cities. We should fully tap the potential of existing institutions of higher learning, actively expand the student enrollment, rapidly set up new colleges and institutes, and endeavor to run the vocational and technical schools and colleges well. We must break free from old rules and conventions and spot, train, and foster talents in all fields. Spare-time education should be actively promoted to satisfy the demand for learning on the part of cadres, workers, peasants, soldiers, and school graduates who have gone to the countryside. We should set up an appropriate examination system. Spare-time students who have attained college graduate level and have proved themselves qualified by passing an examination should be given the same treatment as college graduates in their employment. — *Hua Kuo-feng*, "Report on the Work of the Government delivered at the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress," February 26, 1978

The triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. In accordance with the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire historical period of socialism, the general task for the people of the whole country in this new period is: To persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, and make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology by the end of the century. — Preamble to the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, adopted March 5, 1978, by the Fifth National People's Congress

The springtime of science is here! — *Kuo Mo-jo*, late President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, "Speech Read at the National Science Conference," March 1978

We shall build a vast army of working-class scientists and technicians who are both red and expert, and we must have our own experts in science and technology who are first rate by world standards. — *Fang Yi*, "Outline National Plan for the Development of Science and Technology, Relevant Policies and Measures," Speech at the National Science Conference, March 18, 1978

With the recent reform of the college enrollment system, we have discovered fine young people who are diligent, hardworking, and talented. We are pleased to see their outstanding accomplishments. — *Teng Hsiao-ping*, "Speech at Opening Ceremony of National Science Conference," March 18, 1978

To make China a great, powerful, and modern socialist country in the last quarter of the twentieth century, we urgently need to educate and train a great many people who are both red and expert. — *Hua Kuo-feng*, "Political Report to the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China," August 12, 1977

First, we must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in science and culture so as to serve proletarian politics better . . . . Second, great efforts must be made in the schools to strengthen revolutionary order and discipline, to bring up a new generation with socialist consciousness, and thus help to revolutionize the general mood of society . . . Third, education must keep pace with the requirements of national economic development . . . . Lastly, the question of respecting the work of the teachers and raising their level. — *Teng Hsiao-ping*, "Speech at the National Educational Work Conference," April 22, 1978

Political Report to the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, by Hua Kuo-feng, August 12, 1977 (Excerpts)

For socialist culture to prosper, we must conscientiously carry out the policies of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," of "making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China," and of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new."

* * *

We must take effective measures to expand education at all levels and of all types, quicken its development, and improve its quality in order to match the all-round development of our economy and of science and technology and meet the needs of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Party to the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, by Yeh Chien-ying, August 13, 1978 (Excerpt)

The great victory we have won in smashing the Gang of Four marks the successful conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country and the start of a new period in China's socialist revolution and construction.

Report on the Work of the Government to the Fifth National People's Congress by Hua Kuo-feng, February 26, 1978 (Excerpts)

The whole economy was on the brink of collapse. In some regions and departments where bad characters were in power because of the gang's support, protection, and connivance, production came to a standstill in factories.

* * *

The economy, once in a state of stagnation or even decline and retrogression because of sabotage by the Gang of Four, has turned the corner and is now on the path of steady growth and healthy development.

* * *

By the end of this century, the output per unit of major agricultural products is expected to reach or surpass advanced world levels and the output of major industrial products to approach, equal, or outstrip that of the most developed capitalist countries.

* * *

In the wake of the new upsurge in economic construction, a new upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere will follow. We must raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation to a much higher level so that our working people will master modern techniques of production and scientific knowledge. At the same time, we must build a vast army of working-class intellectuals. Only thus can we successfully fulfill the grand target of building a modern, powerful, socialist country.

* * *

Giving full scope to the abilities of intellectuals is important for speeding up the development of our science, education, and other cultural undertakings and building a modern, powerful, socialist country.

* * *

The Gang of Four vehemently opposed Chairman Mao's policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China. It wildly pushed fascist cultural autocracy and a policy of prohibitions.

* * *

Science: Speech at the National Science Conference, by Hua Kuo-feng, March 24, 1978 (Excerpts)

It is the first time in the history of our party and our People's Republic that the Party Central Committee convenes a conference of such a gigantic scale and broad representation in order to mobilize the whole party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to march toward the modernization of science and technology. This is an important measure adopted by our party to carry out the general task for the new period in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Ours is a conference of tremendous, immediate, and historical significance.

* * *

The fundamental tasks and policies for various fields of work, the three-year and eight-year plans, and a 23-year outline for the development of the national economy have been mapped out.

* * *

The world has witnessed different roads to modernization. There is capitalist or imperialist modernization and revisionist or social-imperialist modernization. What we want is socialist modernization.

* * *

It is necessary to raise the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to a new level and, at the same time, strive to improve our general educational standard, acquire modern scientific knowledge, and master the skills and the methods of management which are indispensable to modern production.

* * *

The Gang of Four willfully undermined our socialist undertakings in science and culture and they even babbled that "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary" and that "it is preferable to have labourers with no culture." What they practiced was a fascist cultural autocracy, sinister and rotten to the core. Owing to their disruption, the enthusiasm of the scientific and cultural workers and the masses was dampened, our scientific and cultural undertakings fell far short of the needs of our socialist revolution and construction, and the gap between the level of science and technology in China and advanced world levels, which had narrowed at one time, widened again.

* * *

What we need is thousands upon thousands of skilled workers, skilled peasants, and other skilled working people with both socialist consciousness and the ability to master modern production techniques, enormous numbers of revolutionary intellectuals in different trades and professions, and revolutionary cadres capable of managing modern economy and modern science and technology. We need mighty contingents for industry, agriculture, science and technology, culture and national defense—people who are both red and expert and who are particularly good at fighting. It won't do to have only a small number or a section of the people; hundreds of millions of people, the entire Chinese nation, must reach a much higher level.

* * *

We should pay great attention to raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation. The modernization of science and technology should not be regarded as a matter only for scientific and technological organizations, nor should it be left to a few people in research institutions or universities. The most powerful base and inexhaustible source of strength for the modernization of science and technology in our country are the masses of the people in their hundreds of millions who, fired with enthusiasm, are determined to do away with blind faith, emancipate their minds, rid themselves of inferiority complex, call up the courage to break new ground and to think, speak, and act, and exert themselves in study and work.

* * *

While we stress the need to rely upon the masses in their hundreds of millions, we must also make vigorous efforts to expand our ranks of professional scientists and technicians.

* * *

The professional contingent is the vanguard and the backbone in raising the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation. It has the duty of taking the strongholds of science and technology and popularizing scientific and technological knowledge among the people.

* * *

By spreading scientific and cultural knowledge to raise the level of the entire nation, combining popularization with the raising of standards and integrating professional with mass forces, we will form a mighty army for science and culture and greatly speed up our socialist modernization.

The education of young people is another very important aspect that merits special attention in raising the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation. The young people are our successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause. Starting from an early age, they should develop themselves physically, foster communist values and work style, and show heroism in the interests of the collective. They should also cultivate, from an early age, the good habit of loving, studying, and using science. Our party and our state must show particular concern for the healthy growth of the young people, make a good job of running primary and middle schools, universities, and other types of schools at various levels, open all kinds of channels for study, create the conditions for bringing up the young people as laborers who have both socialist consciousness and culture, and constantly train from among them scientific and technical personnel who are both red and expert. As talented young people keep coming to the fore in large numbers, our science and technology will flourish.

* * *

Far from being weakened, political and ideological work should be strengthened in the new period of development in our socialist revolution and construction.

* * *

Politics is the commander, the soul in everything, and it won't do not to grasp political and ideological work; but neither will it do if we concern ourselves solely with politics and remain laymen, without any knowledge of technical and professional work. Chairman Mao taught us in all earnestness in 1958: "We must exert ourselves, we must study and carry through to the end this great technological revolution which history has assigned us. This question should be brought up for discussion among the cadres, and a cadre conference should be called to discuss what else we have in the way of capabilities. In the past we had the capabilities of waging war and carrying out land reform, but these capabilities alone are not enough now. We must acquire new ones and achieve a real understanding of professional work, of science and technology, or we cannot possibly exercise effective leadership."

* * *

Many cadres have emancipated their minds and are diligently studying politics, economics, military affairs, professional work, and technology, and the situation is most encouraging. Cadres at all levels in various professions and trades should do the same. Our cadres holding leading positions or doing political and administrative work on the scientific and technological front in particular should devote greater energy to study and, in the light of the characteristics of scientific and technical work, should do a good job in political and ideological work, organization and management, and rear service work. We should respect the labor of the intellectuals and show concern for them politically and for their work and life as well. We should get close to them, understand them, be familiar with them, and forge close friendships. We should create favorable conditions for their work and give full scope to their initiative and creativity.

* * *

In order to raise the scientific and cultural level of our nation, it is necessary to reiterate Chairman Mao's slogan of learning from foreign countries.

* * *

If we indiscriminately refused to learn from foreign countries, China would remain backward for ever. What socialist modernization could one speak of then? It is obvious that all nations and countries in the world have strong points and weaknesses. They should learn from one another, drawing on the strong points of others to make up for their own weak points, so as to make steady progress.

* * *

The first eight years are the key to accomplishing the four modernizations in 23 years, that is, by the year 2000.

* * *

It is imperative for all our people to foster and develop the habit of studying hard. It is an honor to love to study, and it is a shame to refuse to study. It is an honor to be red and expert, and it is a shame to refuse to make progress. It is an honor to work hard and contribute more to socialism, and it is a shame to indulge in ease and comfort, dislike labor, and live off socialism. Our entire country should be turned into a great school.

* * *

In natural science, neither theory nor experiment can be cut off from materialism and dialectics. We should urge all research workers in natural science to make conscious use of the Marxist world outlook to guide their work and at the same time to spread materialism and dialectics far and wide among the masses through study of science and technology and participation in scientific experiments.

* * *

Raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation will help arouse the masses to participate in managing the economic, cultural, and educational undertakings as well as affairs of the state. It will also help develop socialist democracy in the political life of the country.

* * *

In socialist society, we must create the conditions for gradually narrowing the differences between town and country, between industry and agriculture, and between physical and mental labor. From a long-term point of view, tremendously raising the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation means training in the whole nation hundreds of millions of working people who have both socialist consciousness and culture. They are the kind of working people who are politically minded and are educated, who can combine mental labor with physical labor, who are both red and expert with an all-round development, and who are at once worker-intellectuals and intellectual-workers. This is the direction for our advance.

* * *

As we advance, we must study many things we do not know and overcome many difficulties. We can learn anything, provided we rely on the initiative of the masses. No difficulty can deter us so long as we rely on the united strength of the masses. Our slogan is: Study, study, and once more study; unite, unite, and once more unite. Let the whole party, the whole army, and the people of all our nationalities hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, rally closely round the Party Central Committee, make concerted efforts to raise tremendously the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation and successfully fulfill the great historic mission of building a modern and powerful socialist state.

Education and Work: Speech at the National Educational Work Conference, by Teng Hsiao-ping, April 22, 1978 (Excerpts)

At the recent Fifth National People's Congress and the National Science Conference, Chairman Hua pointed out that in order to accomplish the general task for the new period as set forth in the Constitution adopted by Congress, it is imperative to train a large contingent of working-class intellectuals and greatly to raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation. To achieve this, many questions have to be settled and much remains to be done in our educational work. The crux here is how, under the new historical conditions, to implement further the fundamental principle set forth by Chairman Mao that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor."

* * *

For over two decades, large numbers of cadres, teachers, students, staff members, and workers in schools and colleges have, guided by this principle, carried out many experiments and introduced many reforms with great success.

* * *

First, we must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in science and culture so as to serve proletarian politics better.

* * *

The Gang of Four were opposed to making strict demands on students in their study of science and culture and making such studies their main pursuit, insisting nonsensically that this would "put intellectual education first" and be "divorced from proletarian politics." They declared that "it's preferable to have laborers with no culture," saying that "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." They slandered workers and workers' children who had become knowledgeable as bourgeois intellectuals."

* * *

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that workers could not for a minute forget their need for knowledge; that without knowledge the workers are defenseless, while with knowledge they are a force. The importance of this truth has become even clearer today. We must train workers with high attainments in science and culture and build a vast army of working-class intellectuals who are both red and expert if we are to master and advance modern science and culture and the new techniques and technologies of all trades and professions, if we are to create higher labor productivity than that under capitalism, and transform China into a powerful, modern, socialist country and, what is more, ultimately defeat the bourgeoisie in the spheres of the superstructure. These demands themselves are in the interests of proletarian politics.

* * *

Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that the main task of students is to study, to learn book knowledge, i.e., science and culture. Students must give first place to firm and correct political orientation, but this does not exclude the study of science and culture. On the contrary, the higher their political consciousness, the harder the efforts and the greater the voluntary efforts the students should make to learn science and culture for the revolution.

* * *

It is not good to put too great a load on the students. We should continue to take effective measures to prevent and remedy this. But it is equally obvious that we cannot succeed in raising our science and culture to a much higher level unless we abide by the work style of being honest toward the revolutionary cause, honest in words and honest in deeds, and of setting strict standards, taking a serious attitude, and having a close-knit organization and firm labor discipline, and unless demands are exacting and training is rigid. If we are to catch up and surpass advanced world levels in science and technology, we must improve not only the quality of higher education but, in the first instance, the quality of secondary and elementary education. In other words, we must fill our the courses in primary and secondary schools with advanced scientific knowledge within the capabilities of the students.

* * *

Examinations are an important method of checking on studies and on the efficacy of teaching, just as checking the quality of products is a necessary system for ensuring factory standards. Chairman Mao never opposed examinations as such; the kind of examination he opposed was one in which the students were regarded as the enemy and were subject to "surprise attack," having to answer odd and catch questions.

* * *

We must encourage and help students who have not done well in their examinations to continue the effort and not to worry needlessly about them

Great efforts must be made in the schools to strengthen revolutionary order and discipline, to bring up a new generation with socialist consciousness and thus help to revolutionize the general mood of society.

* * *

The sabotage of education by the Gang of Four not only caused an alarming decline in the quality of scientific and cultural education but also seriously debased ideological and political education in the schools, undermined school discipline, and contaminated the revolutitnary atmosphere of socialist society. The Gang of Four talked glibly about politics, but in fact they went in for counterrevolutionary, antisocialist politics and used the most decadent and reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes to poison the minds of the young people, trying to make them "illiterates plus hooligans." Complete eradication of the vicious influence of the Gang of Four is a very serious political task vital to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Revolutionary ideals and communist virtues should be fostered from childhood.

* * *

We hope that the comrades engaged in educational work, comrades of departments concerned, and every family will pay close attention to the ideological and political progress of children and young people, so as to restore and develop the fine, revolutionary traditions undermined by the Gang of Four.

* * *

We should work hard to inculcate in young people the revolutionary style of learning diligently, observing discipline, loving physical labor, taking pleasure in helping others, working hard, and daring to fight the enemy so that they will be trained to be fine and competent personnel, loyal to the socialist motherland, to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Then, some day when they take up a post, they will become workers with a high sense of political responsibility and collectivism, firm revolutionary ideals, the work style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, will be able to observe discipline strictly, and will work wholeheartedly and actively for the people.

* * *

We encourage everyone to strive for progress, but progress depends, after all, on whether the individual makes the effort. A collective effort is the sum of individual efforts. There will be differences in individual efforts even in communist society. Chairman Mao once said that 10,000 years from now there will still be a gap between the advanced and the backward. Therefore, while encouraging and helping everyone to work hard, we have to admit the disparity in the abilities and moral qualities of different people, which will surface in the course of their development. We must treat them accordingly and do everything possible to advance towards the general goal of socialism and communism.

* * *

From now on, not only secondary schools and colleges must make an overall examination of the applicants in respect to their moral, intellectual, and physical levels and enroll only those who are outstanding, all departments should gradually do likewise and, in increasing their work force, give priority to those who are outstanding.

* * *

This will play a tremendous role in raising the political, scientific, and cultural levels of our workers and staff, in meeting the special requirements of different trades and professions, and in creating a revolutionary atmosphere among the young people and in society as a whole, an atmosphere in which everyone is eager to make progress, hardworking, and loath to lag behind.

* * *

Education, must keep pace with the requirements of national economic development.

To train qualified personnel for the proletariat we must study carefully how to implement the policy of combining education with productive labor more satisfactorily under the new conditions. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Chairman Mao all paid great attention to combining education with productive labor. They held that this is one of the most powerful means for transforming capitalist society. They considered that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat this becomes the fundamental path to the training of a new generation that integrates theory with practice and study with application and that attains all-round development, and they regarded it as an important measure for gradually abolishing the distinction between mental and manual labor. As far back as 80 years ago, Lenin said: "Neither training and education without productive labor, nor productive labor without parallel training and education could be raised to the degree required by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge." Today's speedy economic and technological development demands rapid improvement in the quality and efficiency of education and constant new developments in the content and the methods of combining education with productive labor.

To this end, schools of all kinds and at all levels must make the proper arrangements as to what kind of labor the students should engage in, how to arrange for their going to the factories and the countryside, how much time they should spend there, and how to combine such labor with teaching. What is more important, education as a whole must keep pace with the requirements of the growing national economy. Otherwise, if what the students are learning cannot meet the needs of their future profession, and if their study is completely divorced from their work, wouldn't that fundamentally violate the principle of combining education with productive labor? In that case how could we arouse the students' enthusiasm for study and labor and how could education meet the gigantic demands raised by the general task for the new period?

* * *

The State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education, and other departments should work together and incorporate the plan for educational undertakings into the national economic plan as an important component.

* * *

We should particularly increase the proportion of agricultural middle schools, various other kinds of specialized middle schools, and technical schools. We should also tackle the problem of what kinds of institutions of higher learning to develop and how to readjust the specialists, arrange the courses on basic theory, and improve teaching materials. Measures should be worked out to accelerate the development of modern educational media such as television and radio, which merit full attention as important channels for developing education with greater, faster, better, and more economical results. We should make an intensive study of how to organize productive labor, scientific experiments, and scientific research in a more planned way in school education so that they meet the needs of the economic plan and the education plan still better. In order to speed up the training of qualified personnel and raise the level of education as a whole, we must consider the need to concentrate forces and strengthen the key universities and secondary and primary schools so as to raise their level and the quality of teaching as quickly as possible.

* * *

We should combine the education program with the state labor plan and earnestly consider the needs posed by the growth in employment.

* * *

The question of respecting the work of the teachers and of raising their level.

Teachers hold the key to a school's success in training qualified personnel for the proletariat, i.e., training workers with both socialist consciousness and culture and who are developed morally, intellectually, and physically.

* * *

We extend our regards and respects to the vast numbers of educational workers for their diligent efforts. We offer particular regards and respects to the primary school educators who have worked tirelessly under more difficult conditions and helped bring up revolutionary successors.

* * *

We urge students to respect their teachers and at the same time call on teachers to love their students. To respect teachers and love students for the benefit of both—this is the comradely, revolutionary relationship between teachers and students.

* * *

It is necessary to study the wage scale of teachers and first of all that of primary and secondary school teachers. Proper steps should be taken to encourage people to dedicate their whole lives to education.

* * *

In order to accomplish the general task for the new period and realize the four modernizations in not too long a period, we must energetically advocate a practical, down-to-earth revolutionary style of work that will help us turn lofty ideals into reality step by step.

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